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2 May 1980

# West Europe Report

No. 1572

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## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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## DEFENSE FORCE MODERNIZATION OPTIONS DEBATED

Paris LE POINT in French 25 Feb 80 pp 40-41

[Article by Dominique de Montvalon]

[Text] The president now has on his desk at the Elysee a "top secret" dossier that boils down to a single--but monumental--question: What decisions must France make before this summer to ensure that 20 years from now, that is, by the start of the third millenium, its nuclear panoply will have preserved its full credibility?

This dossier is an explosive one, from more than one standpoint. To begin with, defense problems have, since 1974, constantly been an apple of discord between Giscardians and Gaullists, supercilious about their heritage. To be sure, no military option is a purely technical one. Every strategic decision contains its element of politics and passion. Furthermore, this dossier confronts Giscard at the height of an international crisis. But the paradox is that the decisions the president will now have to make will change absolutely nothing regarding France's military capabilities over the next several months, or even the next several years. Deciding to build a nuclear submarine, for example, is one thing; but it will be 6 years, if not more, before the monster is in the water and combat ready. This, however, will not prevent Valery Giscard d'Estaing's forthcoming choices from being judged by many against the Kabul yardstick!

Giscard these days is therefore hefting this dossier very cautiously. He is trying to detect in it how it has been influenced by the various lobbies--the military and the industrial. He listens--skeptically but calmly--to the advice of Chirac: "Let us get nine nuclear submarines into production between now and the end of the century!" Out of the corner of his eye he carefully watches the Soviets, the Europeans and the Americans, all of whom, for their part, are justifiably watching him. And shortly, he will decide and will explain his decision solemnly to the French people. Here is the essence of that burning dossier.

The first obvious fact: Were the president to open the "defense" dossier today to the page titled "Deterrent Force," it would simply be because it demands urgent attention. First, because part of our deterrent arsenal has aged and it is definitely time now to think of replacing it. A deterrent arsenal is by definition one that is destined to become obsolete. Its reason for being is simply to frighten a potential enemy to the point of preventing him from thinking in terms of an adventure that would be too costly for him.. It therefore requires keeping an eye fixed permanently on technological advancements. An enemy breakthrough in the realm of defense or offense could render our entire deterrent edifice obsolete in a very short time.

True, we have not yet reached that point. All the same, the coming into being of the Soviet SS 20 missiles, their growing numbers and above all their increasing accuracy cause France to put down her "deterrence" dossier again. The entire fixed part of her arsenal--starting with the Albion Plateau--can in fact clearly be assigned but a declining credibility from this point onward. The future belongs to the mobile missiles. Hence the invitation from a Chirac, but also from a Debre and from a military expert like General Gallois: "Let us increase the number of our SNLE's [Missile-Launching Nuclear Submarine]! They can escape all forms of detection. They cannot be destroyed by an enemy "first strike!"

In short, the debate has changed. Up to this point, the question before the president has consistently been whether or not to increase the defense budget (his response has been: yes); whether or not to increase the nuclear fire power of our submarines (his response: obviously, yes). But now, his decision must go much deeper: Shall we rely entirely on submarines? Shall we finesse whole sections of our deterrent force?

The response of the experts----specifically, those of the Defense Ministry's CPE [Research and Evaluation Center], which operates under the direct authority of Yvon Bourges--is drawn up as four conclusions.

First conclusion: The credibility of the French deterrent arsenal as a whole, far from declining, will increase in the years to come. For two reasons. First, because astounding advancements have been made specifically in the field of multiple warheads. One example: The striking power of the M 4 multiple-warhead missile, with which our entire fleet of SNLE's will be equipped progressively, starting in 1985, has been increased by a factor of 6 or 7 times. Soviet capabilities, on the other hand, are too often overestimated. To destroy France's Albion site, the USSR would, up to this point, have had to use two thirds of its stock of SS 9 intercontinental missiles, which are in fact aimed at the United States. There is no question that the Soviets now have the SS-20, but this missile's margin of error is still, as of now, 400 meters. To neutralize Albion, whose silos cannot be destroyed except by direct hits, the USSR would have to launch several dozen SS-20's. This would no longer be a so-called purely "pin-point" action but a massive one that would trigger the irreparable response.

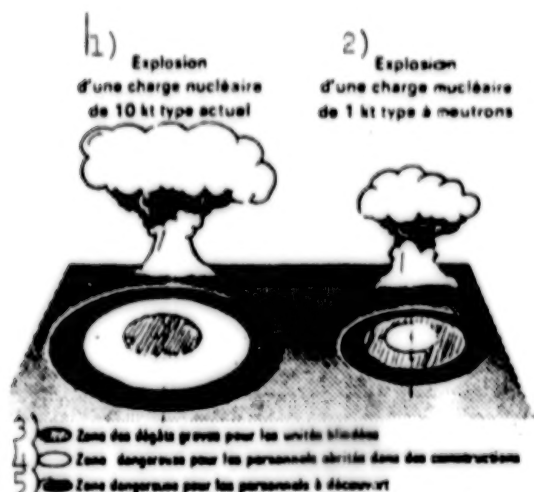
Second conclusion reached in analysis by government experts: As formulated by Paul-Yvan de Saint Germain, head of the CPE, a decision today to place all reliance on the SNLE would be "an irresponsible imprudence." True, in 1980, trying to detect an SNLE is still like trying to find a needle "not in a bundle of hay, but in a barnful of hay." Moreover, the capabilities of these submarines continue to increase. For example: Only a short time ago, the SNLE required several days after leaving Brest to be able to enter its useful range, that is, its firing range. Today, it is operational even while still lying in the roads of Brest. There can be no doubt that for maximum security--which means having three SNLE's at sea at all times (currently there are sometimes two and sometimes three)--the putting into production of one or two additional SNLE's cannot be excluded. But nine, no! For, if the the USSR were to succeed, even though it took them 20 years, in developing an effective SNLE detection system, France would regret bitterly not having opted for greater diversification of its weapons systems. To which one might respond, of course, that the process of developing effective detection methods is a long and gradual one and that it is preferable, during that period, to have a large number of submarines!

Third conclusion: The solution lies in a mobile-missile diversification that the enemy could not hope to destroy in a first strike. Essentially, research is being oriented in two directions: the cruise missile (the drone missile that, flying close to the ground, poses special defense problems to the enemy), or a light missile that could be mounted on a mobile land or aerial platform. A proposal that would be as difficult to conceive as to implement, owing to the smallness of our national territory: trucks could move them from one location to another throughout the country.

In any case, France cannot consider imitating the Americans, who are studying the relative advantages of a system of trenches in which the missiles would be constantly moved from one site to another, versus the construction of a multitude of silos in such a way that the enemy would not be able to detect which are the...real ones! France--should it opt for the cruise missile solution--would probably not be technologically capable of producing highly accurate ones. However, says the Ministry of Defense, our strategy is "anti-cities," not "anti-forces": extreme accuracy is therefore not a key constraint in our case.

The fourth conclusion--if Valery Giscard d'Estaing finally chooses it as the solution--will no doubt touch off the most heated debates: The experts say, in effect, that it is absolutely necessary to put some muscle into our tactical nuclear force and that for this, one weapon is needed: the neutron bomb. However, they say in the same breath, this in no way means recalling our strategy into question. Our tactical nuclear force would keep its last-warning role: a final test of the enemy's intentions before pressing the strategic nuclear button. Yvon Bourges's close advisers add that it would not be a question of adopting the theories of the neutron bomb's

Superiority of the Neutron Bomb  
According to the Ministry of Defense



Key:

1. Explosion of a current type 10-kiloton nuclear warhead
2. Explosion of a neutron-type 1-kiloton nuclear warhead
3. Zone of serious damage for armored units
4. Danger zone for personnel in buildings
5. Danger zone for persons in the open

champion, Colonel Geneste, who conceives of installing along our entire borders a virtual Maginot line of neutron bombs. To accept these "Genesteries," they say further, would be to subscribe to the fatal notion that we could, should it come right down to it, hope to fight a quasi-conventional war...exchanging nuclear bomb hits!

For all that, the experts say--and the emphasis is equally perceptible--a tactical strike that did not hurt the enemy, would have no more impact than a single tear gas grenade thrown into a crowd of demonstrators. Briefly, they deem it necessary that France, disregarding the Soviets' declared hostility toward this "innovation," equip itself with some 100 neutron bombs, enabling it not only to put the enemy on final notice but also to stop the enemy in a way that will be conducive to hard second thoughts. The experts' "yes, but" to the neutron bomb is explicit: The neutron bomb, they say, would be highly useful 'for firing upon contact."

And this is the nub of the debate. The choice by France of the neutron bomb could represent the pure and simple intent to enhance its strategic deterrent capability. Many strategists, however, doubtful of the plausibility of using our strategic force, do not recoil from the idea of a nuclear battle in Europe. From this viewpoint, adopting the neutron bomb would amount to a disguised slide into acceptance, by stages, of this battle concept.

In sum, the USSR's technological breakthrough has placed Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the position of having now to renew--or not--his, obviously essentially personal, act of faith in the doctrine of deterrence. The technical choices he will make will finally be decrypted, he knows, in that context.

9238

CSO: 3100



## STRATEGIC, TACTICAL NUCLEAR FORCES OF 1980 VIEWED

Paris LE POINT in French 25 Feb 80 pp 42-43

## [Text] Nuclear Strategic Forces

Mission: "To deter an aggressor from attacking France by persuading him that a major military action on his part could trigger strategic reprisals into the heart of his own territory and cause there material damage and losses of human lives out of all proportion to the benefits he might perceive."

## Strategic Air Force [FAS]

The FAS consists of 37 Mirage IV nuclear bombers each carrying an AN 22 nuclear warhead with a power exceeding 60 kilotons [kt] (three times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb). The AN 22 is the first nuclear weapon designed and built by France. Maximum speed of the Mirage IV: Mach 2 above 15,000 m. Cruising range: over 1,200 km without refueling; over 2,500 km refueled in flight. The refueling fleet consists of 11 KC-135 tanker aircraft divided into three squadrons for missions of up to 4,000 km.

These Mirages, scheduled to be taken out of service between 1985 and 1990 by reason of their age (the first Mirage IV's have been operational since 1964) will finally be granted a respite. The decision has just been taken to equip some 15 of them, beginning in 1985, with the new ASMP [Medium-Range Air-Surface] missile, on which AEROSPATIALE [National Industrial Aerospace Company] is currently working. The ASMP prototype is scheduled for its first tests during 1983.

The ground component of the FAS includes, at the Albion Plateau in Haute-Provence, two missile-launching units. The first of these is equipped with 9 surface-surface ballistic missiles of the S-3 type, with a range in excess of 3,500 km, each with a single thermonuclear megaton warhead (50 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb). The second missile-launching unit is in the process of being converted for equipment with the S-3 as well, instead of the S-2 with which it has been equipped until now (the latter's range is limited to 3,000 km and its power to 150 kt). The conversion is scheduled for completion this year. The unit is to be operational again by the beginning of 1981.

## Strategic Naval Force [FOST]

The FOST consists today of four fully operational SNLE's [Missile-Launching Nuclear Submarine]: "Le Redoutable" (entered service in 1971); "Le Terrible" (1972); "Le Foudroyant" (1974); "L'Indomptable" (1976). The fifth SNLE--"Le Tonnant"--will enter on schedule into the "operational cycle" in the next few weeks. It has in fact already completed its final tests at sea.

These five SNLE's--whose speed can exceed 20 knots--are each equipped with 16 M-20 2-stage ballistic missiles with a range in excess of 3,000 km, each carrying a megatonic thermonuclear single warhead. "L'Indomptable" was directly equipped with the M-20; the three that preceded it had to be modified to accommodate the weapon.

Each SNLE has two alternating crews (one blue, one red), each consisting of 18 officers and 120 men.

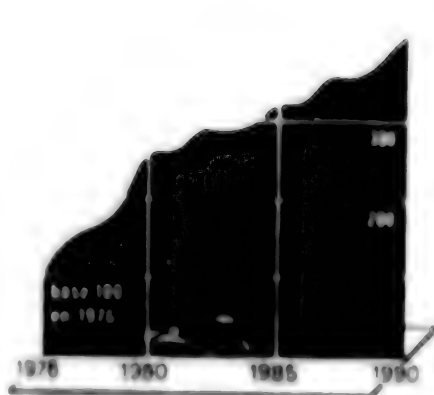
The sixth SNLE--"L'Inflexible"--scheduled to enter service by 1985, will be directly equipped with the new M-4 missile, a 3-stage missile with a range in excess of 4,000 km and equipped, it is said, with 6 or 7 multiple, independently targetable warheads having a power of the order of 150 kt each.

The rest of the SNLE's will be equipped later with the M-4, probably except the first of them--the "Redoutable"--owing to the age it will have attained by the time its turn comes to be "refitted."

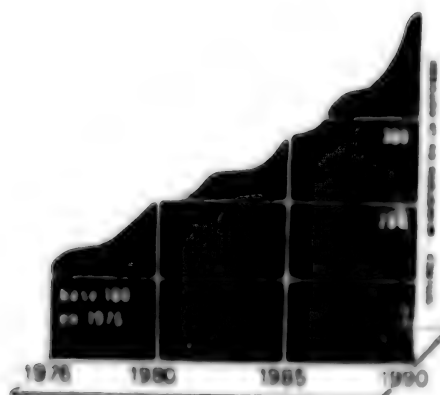
However, the entry of "L'Inflexible" into service in 1985 will enable France to continue its deployment of at least two SNLE's at sea at all times, while one is undergoing "major careening" for a period of 16 months, and another, at all times beginning in 1985, undergoing a refitting of close to 2 years duration and equipping with the M-4.

## Evolution of the FAS

According to the Ministry of Defense, the evolution of France's deterrent capability between now and 1990 is to be as shown in the following graphs. The first shows projected overall nuclear firepower. The second shows the number of enemy cities that will be effectively threatened. In both cases the 1976 reference figure is a military secret.



\*Number of megatons



\*\*Number of cities threatened

### The Tactical Nuclear Weapon

"Within the field forces, it will represent to the enemy a permanent threat of use and will deny him the full benefit he might otherwise derive from a superiority in conventional weapons. It will therefore serve to deliver the final and solemn warning by the political power to the aggressor that he must expect the use of strategic weapons if he persists."

### Tactical Air Force

The Tactical Air Force consists in total of 75 aircraft capable each of delivering an AN 52 atomic bomb with a 20 kt warhead. These planes are divided into 5 squadrons:

--2 squadrons of Mirage 111-E all-weather intercept and low-altitude intervention fighters. Maximum speed: Mach 2 at a ceiling of 16,000 m. Range of action: 200-900 km (depending on the "profile" of the mission):

--3 squadrons of Jaguar A twin jet supersonic tactical support planes. Maximum speed: Mach 1.5. Ceiling: 15,000 m. Range of action: 700 km. The Jaguar A can be refueled in flight, in which case its range substantially exceeds 3,500 km.

### Tactical Ground Force

The Tactical Ground Force consists of 5 nuclear artillery regiments, each containing 3 missile-launching batteries of two launching ramps each, for a total of 30 launching ramps mounted on ANX 30, and equipped with the

Pluton tactical missile. Power: 10-20 kt. Range: 120 km. The five regiments are stationed at Laon, Suippes, Mailly, Oberhoffen and Belfort. Each regiment consists of 1,000 men and has 300 vehicles.

The life span of Pluton missiles is 15-20 years maximum. Under study: the idea of a Super-Pluton with substantially greater range.

#### Tactical Naval Air Force

The Tactical Naval Air Force is in the process of being formed. By the end of this year it will have 24 Super-Etendard planes equipped with the AN 52 nuclear weapon and ready for takeoff from the aircraft carrier "Clemenceau" --already transformed to accommodate them--and from the aircraft carrier "Foch"--now being transformed for this purpose. Maximum speed of the Super-Etendard at low altitude: 1,200 km/hr. Range of action: 650 km.

2130

CSO: 3100

## VOLVO CHIEF MAKES ANOTHER NORWAY-SWEDEN JOINT VENTURE PROPOSAL

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Mar 80 p 24

[Article by Egil Sundar: "Scandinavia Must Get Out of Its Negotiating Paralysis"]

[Text] Again Pehr G. Gyllenhammar, the head of Volvo, has taken an important initiative to counteract the political negotiating paralysis in the matter of Scandinavian cooperation on energy and industry. While the present Swedish government has shown a remarkable passivity with regard to attempts to get a balanced cooperative agreement in effect between Norway and Sweden, Gyllenhammar has sketched a gigantic project on his own with Norwegian gas supplies as the starting point.

That this is happening only a few days before the top politicians of Scandinavia gather in Reykjavik for a session of the Scandinavian Council is hardly a coincidence. A new "Norway agreement," which is expected to give definite advantages to the two cooperating countries, is the first constructive contribution to a cooperation on energy policy and industrial policy since the previous Volvo agreement was laid to rest a good year ago.

Norway has gas enough for Swedish needs, but what quid pro quo is Sweden prepared to offer within the framework of a cooperation on energy policy and industrial policy? For the time being very little, apart from the prospects Gyllenhammar has opened up through Volvo. Norway is still waiting for the Swedish government to make up its mind--first and foremost whether it wants to rely on natural gas in the Swedish energy system.

Denmark would also like to have access to oil and gas resources on the Norwegian continental shelf, and in his conversations with Prime Minister Odvar Nordli, Anker Jørgensen has made it clear that his government attaches the greatest weight to getting Danco-Norwegian cooperation started in the matter. But, as everybody knows, a cooperation presupposes that all parties contribute something something, and when it comes down to it, the Danes have perhaps even less to offer than the Swedes.

Since the Norwegian government gave the go-ahead signal three and a half years ago for the first discussions of a cooperation on energy and industry between Norway and the other Scandinavian countries, it must be admitted once more that the negotiations are at a standstill. A series of meetings have been held between prime ministers, between ministers of energy, and between other high officials without seeming to have brought specific results much closer. And it is with this miserable point of departure that the top politicians of Scandinavia will gather next week in Reykjavik to continue the debate on how the efforts are to be carried on--in spite of "temporary setbacks." On the initiative of Anker Jorgensen, prime minister of Denmark, there will be a meeting Tuesday at which the Scandinavian heads of government will again look at the possibilities of using Norwegian gas and oil as a basis for specific Scandinavian cooperative projects.

Thus there is no giving up, even though a remarkable lack of political will, imagination, and foresight has been shown in this most important of all fields of cooperation. Not on the part of the Norwegian government, but by leading politicians both in Norway and in other Scandinavian countries, who obviously believe that Norwegian cooperation is solely a question of reaping advantages without having to give anything in return. They have not been able to see the perspectives. When it comes to the really big and promising projects, such as the agreement between the Norwegian state and Volvo, opposition in various quarters has made it impossible to exploit the dynamic element in the Scandinavian efforts at cooperation.

The Volvo agreement would have given the Swedes assured supplies of Norwegian oil for decades into the future. And Norway for its part would have been able to draw advantages from modern Swedish technology, with all that would mean to the possibilities of development for Norwegian industry. It should be borne in mind that the Volvo concern alone has a research and development activity half as great as that of all Norwegian industry. Today, a good year after the agreement was overthrown by the Swedish stockholders, some have presumably realized that something of value has been lost for Norwegian-Swedish cooperation.

Later it has been emphasized by the Norwegians that there are still possibilities of considerable exports of crude oil and oil products from Norway to Sweden, even though the amount may be reduced as compared to what was stipulated in the Swedish-Norwegian complex of agreements of December 1978. The Norwegians are ready at any time to enter into negotiations concerning an agreement on long-term oil shipments as a part of a broader Norwegian-Swedish cooperation embracing energy, industry, and timber. The Swedes, too, want to get under way with a cooperation with Norway that would embrace long-term supplies of Norwegian oil and gas. But so far little is known about what the Swedes are willing to contribute toward getting such a cooperation under way. The object of the cooperation will, as before, be a mutual and balanced development that is advantageous to both countries.

Even now, in a time when the question has been raised in several quarters whether the Scandinavian countries are not moving away from each other,



there are many who console themselves with the idea that no temporary setback has prevented Scandinavian cooperation from developing further. And for most of the postwar period that is a correct observation. Scandinavian cooperation has been in a steady decline. But it is felt that everything is going so well, and we shall come closer together in any case, if only we refrain from ambitious and controversial offensives.

But if that is to be the guide and our only ambition for Scandinavian cooperation, we shall at the same time fail to take advantage of the possibility of solving common problems in a situation where we shall otherwise be forced to seek national solutions, often in competition with each other. In the period we are now in, with important economic and structural changes, there is a widely held view that to a great degree the time calls for joint Scandinavian efforts. This necessitates a conscious Scandinavian policy on the part of all participating countries. And we must also more consciously use the agencies we have for promoting new cooperative measures.

The Norwegian Council and the other contact agencies we have really offer maximal possibilities, if only the political will is there. Making our forms of cooperation more effective depends on what the politicians themselves propose to do in the time that lies before us. Such agencies as the Scandinavian Council and the Council of Scandinavian Ministers are neither better nor worse as instruments of Scandinavian cooperation than the politicians themselves make them.

During last year's session of the Scandinavian Council, Prime Minister Nordli put the following questions to his Scandinavian colleagues:

1) Can we raise the level of ambition for Scandinavian cooperation to the point where we can speak of a common use of economic, technological, administrative, and human resources to solve our problems jointly to a greater extent?

2) Can we be confident that, e.g., a closer cooperation in energy policy and industrial policy can develop into a useful tool for solving our problems of structure and employment?

"But," Nordli added, "in that case it is no longer simply a question of analysis and research. It also takes political will and power to act."

As a political observer I cannot rid myself of the impression that somebody is lacking in those qualities. When the presidium of the Scandinavian council emphasizes the need for an ideological revival in Scandinavian cooperation, it is presumably on the same grounds.

8815

CSO: 3108



## COMMUNIST LEADER INTERVIEWED IN CUBA

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 28 Mar 80 pp 68-69

[Interview with William Kashtan, secretary general of Communist Party of Canada, by Mario G. del Cueto: "People Want Democratic Government Program"]

[Text] It was not the first time William Kashtan, secretary general of the Communist Party of Canada, had visited Cuba. He was a guest at our First Party Congress. Now he was with us again, invited to participate in a dialog between parties and on Cuban-Canadian relations. He stated this when asked about the objectives of his trip at the beginning of the interview. He noted, smiling: "I also came with my wife to be warmed by this marvelous Cuban sun and temporarily leave behind the Canadian snow." He arrived in Havana on Saturday, 23 February, and was leaving early Saturday morning, 8 March. This permitted him to become better acquainted with important aspects of the development of the revolution, especially the realization of material projects. He told us briefly about his impressions of his tour through some parts of Cuba.

He said: "The construction work taking place in many parts of the country greatly impressed us. We saw this especially in Holguin where we visited important achievements under construction like a sugar mill, ceramics factory and other construction. Holguin is literally being transformed and, in our opinion, this constitutes an archetypical example of what is happening in the rest of the country. Cuba is a beehive of activity and intensive creative work and, of course, we had to see it."

[Question] When was the Communist Party of Canada founded and how long have you been its secretary general?

[Answer] Well, the party was founded in June 1921, almost 60 years ago. Next year we will celebrate the 60th anniversary. We want to give this commemoration a special meaning by convoking an

extraordinary party convention to publicize the role that it is playing among the Canadian working class and the democratic movements of the country. We want to place it in terms of the tremendous changes that are occurring internationally. Our party was founded a few years after the triumph of the great October Revolution. Since then, many countries have become socialist and socialism has spread to all continents, even this....Therefore, the 60 years have shown an enormous development but Canada is still not at the peak of this revolutionary stage. It is, of course, also affected by international events. We are going to consider this in the celebration of the 60th anniversary....As to my position, I was elected at the 21st Party Convention. Comrade Tim Bock was secretary general earlier and when he resigned because of health problems, comrade Leslie Mores replaced him. Unfortunately, Mores died and I was asked to take the position that I now hold.

His opinion on relations between Canada and the United States was brief.

"Look, I must recall that, in our program, we speak of these relations as an antagonistic association of conflicting interests between the Canadian capitalist class and U.S. imperialism. At the same time, those relations tend to join forces to maintain imperialism. We try to exploit these contradictory tendencies to advance and progress in the fight for the true independence of Canada, for an independent foreign policy and for a social program for the Canadian people."

[Question] Let us talk about internal politics. What were the main factors in the recent electoral victory of Pierre Elliot Trudeau?

[Answer] In my opinion, there were two basic factors. One was the inability of Joseph Clark's government to resolve the essential economic and social problems of the people. This was expressed in the budget that they presented to Parliament; it focused on raising the prices of popular consumer goods and raising taxes while guaranteeing larger profits for corporations. The people rejected this position at the ballot boxes. The second was that Prime Minister Clark felt that he could do the same thing that President Carter does: lean toward a cold war with the Soviet Union in the hope of being reelected as U.S. president. Clark made a mistake in calculations because the Canadian people do not favor a cold war policy. The people want a democratic government program. They do not want to go toward the right; they simply want to cooperate with all countries. Because of this, Clark was defeated. Trudeau, who is more intelligent, took into account the real feelings of the people and expressed this feeling when he said that his government would follow a policy of peace and detente and that he would not support an arms

race. He would enact economic measures to try to resolve some of the problems. This was the only alternative that the people could see in Canada. Thus, Trudeau was elected again.

[Question] Could you give us an idea of what Trudeau's government will be like?

[Answer] When elected, Prime Minister Trudeau stated that he felt that the votes that he had received gave him three mandates. The first was to follow a policy to help preserve the peace between the United States and the Soviet Union; his government would do everything possible in that direction. Clark gave 100-percent support to Carter's cold war policy. The second mandate would be to work for a united Canada, against the separatist tendencies of French Canada and other parts of the country. The third mandate he said he received from the people was to carry out measures to improve the living conditions of the people....Now, it remains to be seen whether Trudeau carries out these mandates or not. However, it cannot be denied that he represents a sector of the Canadian monopolies. At the same time, he represents a trend in Canada of those who feel the need for peaceful coexistence and are tenaciously opposed to increased tensions and the cold war stirred up by Carter. The recent formation of a Canadian Cabinet seems to suggest that the government will follow a centrist policy with a specifically Canadian economic program and program of foreign policy. In other words, these would be programs contrary to those developed by Clark who exemplified a pro-United States policy.

[Question] Within the framework of Canadian interior policy, how is the French separatist trend going, say, in Quebec?

[Answer] It is good to know first that the majority of the French Canadians do not want to secede. They are interested in improving their situation in Canada, with guarantees of respect for their laws, their culture and economic equality. However, I repeat that they do not favor secession. It is likely that the Quebec authorities will be given a mandate in a referendum held this spring not to secede but to negotiate. This is the desire of the French Canadians, to make an arrangement to guarantee their national aspirations. Our party supports and has been fighting for that right to self-determination with full equality of the two nations in Canada. We have formulated a number of proposals on this which include the adoption of a new Canadian constitution that would uphold equal and voluntary association of the two peoples in a national state with the guarantees that we mentioned and with structural reforms to overcome the obstacles and achieve the objectives. The obstacles are the monopolies and the multinational corporations. Our opinion is receiving increasingly broader support in all parts of Canada.

We recalled that there was a social democratic congress in Vancouver last year. We asked him his opinion of the resolutions adopted at the congress. He responded:

"We think that it was a significant event in the sense of recognition by social democracy that there was a growing movement for national liberation of the peoples. I believe that they were forced to 'take off their hats' and proclaim that fact. They also expressed, to a certain degree, the need to fight for a disarmament policy but, of course, they have not changed their essential nature as a social democratic movement. For example, one of their objectives now in different countries in Latin America and the Caribbean is to prevent revolutionary incidents and to express the interests of their capitalistic class, whether in Western Europe between U.S. policy and the real interest of the people of those countries or somewhere else. The fact that they are forced to adopt this policy creates certain possibilities of a united front between communists and social democrats and between social democrats and socialist countries, perhaps for some type of minimal program that can help defeat the U.S. imperialist policy. This is illustrated in Nicaragua where the new social democratic party in Canada and the Canadian union movement expressed strong support to the revolution and helped find hundreds of thousands of dollars to give to the Nicaraguan people. However, in the end, their interests force them to try to kick the communists out of their positions and strengthen their own social democratic influence. However, objectively, they help in the fight against imperialism. I repeat, though, that it is not good to harbor illusions about social democracy."

[Question] Concerning your Nicaraguan example, how do you or your party view the explosive social and political situation in Central America?

[Answer] What we see is the development of an anti-imperialist democratic uprising of the peoples, not only in the Caribbean but in all of Latin America. U.S. imperialism thought that, with the local reactionaries, it had made the anti-imperialist fight retreat when it overthrew Allende's government in Chile and established military governments in other countries. However, these victories were short-lived and what we see now is the rapid rise of an anti-imperialist democratic struggle as observed in Nicaragua and Grenada, now in El Salvador and tomorrow in other places. This is part of an objective process, a movement of the people against imperialism in order to attain enjoyment of their resources in the interest of their own people. We support that fight and I would say that the Canadian people, in general, do too. They are aware of U.S. pressure on their own country and the need to suppress it. The Canadian people salute these uprisings that have taken place in Latin American



countries and in the Caribbean. To us this is merely part of a general offensive of the peoples of the world against imperialism, part of the fight for independence and social progress.

Concerning international tension, Kashtan referred first to the warnings that the 24th Party Convention made in January of this year when it called attention to the complex international situation.

He added: "Imperialism is carrying out a counterrevolutionary offensive in different parts of the world, Afghanistan being one of its latest examples. The forces of imperialism, in this apparent cold war phase, pledge to stop and reverse revolutionary happenings throughout the world. We have reached the conclusion that what is important now is to strengthen the fight for peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament against the militarization program of imperialism. Therefore, the unity of all workers parties, communist parties and all anti-imperialist forces in the world is more necessary than ever in order to stop and defeat the reactionaries and extreme right. We also want to call attention to the role that the Chinese Maoists are playing by alining themselves with U.S. imperialism against socialism, against the movements of national liberation and against the international working class. The task our party has given priority to is to put the fight for peace in the center of our work and relate it to other tasks; that is, the fight for independent economic development for the Canadian people and the fight for social progress. We see the international situation as a situation that requires coordinated efforts on the part of all anti-imperialist forces. We recognize that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have a decisive role in this fight."

At the end of the interview, the secretary general of the Communist Party of Canada asked to send congratulations, through BOHEMIA, to the Cuban people, to Fidel, to the government and to the party for the successes achieved in the construction of socialism.

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CSO: 3110

## HOUSE PRESIDENT INVITES TURKS FOR PRIVATE TALKS

Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 11 Apr 80 p 1

[Text] House President Alecos Michaelides yesterday invited the Turkish cypriots to agree to resumption of talks without any opening statement and away from the glare of publicity.

Mr Michaelides was speaking at the opening of the 13th congress of Lions Clubs of Greece and Cyprus at Limassol when he referred to the Cyprus problem and the stumbling block created by Turkish demands for advance acceptance of bizonality and security, which have different meanings for the two sides.

The Turkish side, he said, should state clearly what is the meaning of the words it demands we should commit ourselves to. Otherwise we should consider how to sidestep legal terms and seek a dialogue with goodwill and an open mind on the basis of the May 19 agreement--of President Kyprianou and Turkish Cypriot leader Mr Denktash, he declared and went on:

Let us start then a real dialogue without opening statements and television cameras. Let us talk about concrete things and let us not engage in linguistic exercises. We believe that this practical approach is the only way to make progress.

The House President said the question one was asking was whether the negotiating process should be abandoned in view of the failure to make any progress six years after the invasion and despite seven rounds of talks and he replied:

Despite this, we strongly desire to negotiate a solution of the internal aspect of the problem.

However, he added a solemn warning that this desire should not be misinterpreted as likely to make us sacrifice our very cause in exchange for the mere start of talks.

We believe in the process of the talks and for this reason we want to protect it against attempts by the Turkish side to cause it to peter out.

#### Consolidating

He said the Turkish side was not in a hurry to come to the talks since it finds that time is consolidating the facts accomplished.

Mr Michaelides also referred to the Turkish demand for equality and said that if they meant equal rights for all citizens then not only we applaud this but consider it absolutely necessary because only the safeguarding of equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of religion or ethnic origin, could form the basis for a viable solution.

However, what the Turks demand is equation of the 18 percent with the 82 percent of the population which means control of majority by the minority and, therefore, trampling down upon the human rights of the majority on the excuse of safeguarding the rights of the 18 percent.

And in their zeal to promote this sort of equality the Turks were trying to question the legality of the state, Mr Michaelides said, and underlined that every effort should be made to safeguard the authority of the State and refuse to accept its downgrading or undermining because the moment the authority of the State diminishes, the foundation of our struggle will collapse.

About the U.N. role, Mr Michaelides said it should be neither over-estimated nor underestimated. We are not deprived of the right to demand measures for the implementation of resolutions, but we should not harbour illusions, he said.

President Kyprianou, in a message to the congress, read for him by the Presidential Under Secretary Mr P. Stavrou, underlined that all efforts are directed towards the return to the island of peace and happiness, based on the unity of the State and the people, restoration of territorial integrity and independence and consolidation of freedom.

In this effort, Mr Kyprianou said, we are inspired by spirit of good will and brotherhood towards all the inhabitants of the island.

CSO: 4920



## BRIEFS

TFSC CURRENCY ISSUANCE DENIED--Deputy Minister of Economics and Finance Onur Borman stated that the TFSC's issuance of its own currency is impossible due to its nonindependent status. Borman, who noted that no initiative has been undertaken by the ministry with regard to the TFSC's issuance of its own currency, indicated that conditions are still not right for such an action. [Excerpts] [Nicosia BOZKURT in Turkish 28 Mar 80 p 1]

CSO: 4907

## MANY IN SOCIALIST YOUTH GROUP ANGRY AT USSR AFGHAN INVASION

Copenhagen ARBEJDERAVISEN in Danish 20-26 Feb 80 p 12

[Text] The Committee for Peace and Security Cooperation called a meeting of its representatives last weekend. According to what ARBEJDERAVISEN has learned from Niels Thofte, who represented the Joint Council of Danish Youth at that meeting, there is growing criticism within the committee because it has been impossible to adopt a clear critical resolution with respect to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Consequently, more and more organizations are reconsidering their committee membership.

The Committee for Cooperation was formed in 1973 as a Danish contact organization for a world peace initiative in Helsinki, which, in turn, grew out of a conference in Moscow. Originally, it was supposed to serve as a coordinating body for member organizations, but it has gradually developed into an independent organization where decisions are being made by an executive committee instead of the organizations represented.

It became more and more obvious that it was impossible for this body to criticize the Soviet Union. Putting it bluntly, the committee consists of Soviet advocates and pacifists. Thus, it has become a tool for the Soviet Union, which has used the committee of its own advantage by appealing to pacifist-oriented forces.

## Growing Criticism

But as the Soviet Union's aggressive character became more apparent, it could no longer continue to take such gross advantage of the pacifists. Since the committee has been unwilling to take clear exception to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, there has been growing criticism within the committee.

Uffe Torm already withdrew from the committee presidium last January. He represented the International Cooperation and his withdrawal was in protest of the committee's refusal to take exception to the occupation of Afghanistan.

This criticism continued at the meeting of representatives last weekend. At this meeting, representatives had no problems opposing the eventual stationing of NATO troops on Danish soil--and justly so--but there was no official criticism of the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan. Niels Thofter, who represented the Joint Council of Danish Youth (DUF), told ARBEJDERAVISEN there were wide differences of opinion concerning Afghanistan. But since the committee's decisions are based on the principle of consensus--i.e. unanimity--no statement was forthcoming with respect to Afghanistan.

#### DUF May Withdraw

As a result, Niels Thofter characterized the situation within the committee as "aggravated" and he said that the Joint Council of Danish Youth may decide to withdraw from the Committee for Peace and Security Cooperation at its next meeting, when this issue of ARBEJDERAVISEN comes out. "DUF is an umbrella organization representing 56 youth organizations with a total of 1.3 million members. DUF is thus a widely represented organization and it has not been able to take a direct position on Afghanistan," said Niels Thofter. "It must consolidate many points of view, but we cannot tolerate the fact that the Committee for Cooperation has failed to take a clearer position on Afghanistan, particularly since it was able to take a clear position against NATO, for example," said Thofter. Actually, its failure to take a position on Afghanistan is a grotesque self-contradiction since the committee's tenets are fundamentally opposed to foreign troops on foreign soil.

#### Other Critical Voices

Radical Youth also voiced its criticism at the meeting. It is now planning to deescalate its activities on the committee. This organization did not adopt a proposal which characterized the invasion of Afghanistan as a classic example of imperialism, but did send it around to member organizations as a minority point of view.

The organization No More War also criticized the committee's failure to take a position on Afghanistan and so did the International League for Peace and Freedom.

Thus the situation now is that three members have withdrawn from the committee presidium: Uffe Torm from the International Cooperation, Niels Thofter from the Joint Council of Danish Youth and Holger Willumsen, the former national secretary of Radical Youth.

The Joint Council of Danish Youth is expected to withdraw and the same could be true of No More War. The UN League has withdrawn, but without giving any reasons for doing so.

#### Necessary to Withdraw

This development must be supported. We must put pressure on all mass organizations--not least the DKP- (Communist Party of Denmark) dominated metal trade unions--which are members of the Committee for Cooperation, to pull out. We should not accept the fact that DKP and the Soviet Union use this committee to get pacifist-oriented members to serve Soviet interests by unilaterally opposing the United States and NATO and demanding silence with respect to the Soviet Union's aggressive acts. If necessary, pacifist-oriented forces must work together, exclusive of those forces that support the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 3106

## CENTER-DEMOCRATS ARGUE OVER FOLKETING GROUP POWER

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 Feb 80 p 7

[Reportage by Solveig Rodagaard]

[Text] A feud has developed between the assistant chairman of the Democratic Center-Party organization H. E. Hillerup Jensen, the rest of the organization and the Democratic Center-Party group in Parliament. The reason is that H. E. Hillerup Jensen thinks the party organization should have more influence on the parliamentary group's work. That is repudiated by Erhard Jacobsen, the group's leader.

At a party committee meeting recently, the issue of members' and elected party organization officials' influence on the parliamentary group was discussed and H. E. Hillerup Jensen said that several people in Fredriksborg county shared his opinion. Hence, he has called a meeting to discuss the matter tomorrow.

Erhard Jacobsen told BERLINGSKE there would be no change in parliamentary representatives' sovereign right to make decisions on any given issue.

"No outsider can oblige members of Parliament. They are bound by the constitution alone, which says that members of Parliament are only bound by their convictions and not by the rules of their constituency. That is also included in the party's rules and several national congresses have ruled on it," said Erhard Jacobsen.

He added that this decision would not be changed, "at least not while I am chairman," he said.

"However, I am interested in all opinions, including that of H. E. Hillerup Jensen. But this has nothing to do with the policy of the Democratic Center Party and there is no dispute within the party. Members of the party organization just met with the parliamentary group in Ringsted and in Vejle and there was no criticism of the group's position at these meetings," said Erhard Jacobsen.

## Changing the Power Structure

H. E. Hillerup Jensen also talked about the structure of the Democratic Center Party prior to the committee meeting. A few weeks ago he told FREDRIKSBERG AMTS AVIS that "by changing the power structure in the Democratic Center Party, we can recreate the optimism and the belief in the future on which the party was originally based. But that requires a number of structural changes, of which I am the exponent."

Six Democratic Center-Party representatives were elected to Parliament last October, 11 in 1977, of which one was lost to the shift during the election period, namely Asger Lindinger, who became an Industrial Party representative. When the Democratic Center Party made its entry into Parliament in December 1973, one month after Erhard Jacobsen had broken with the Social Democrats, it had 14 representatives.

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CSO: 3106

## INDUSTRY MUST RESTRUCTURE, CONCENTRATE ON EXPORTS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Feb 80 p 9

[Reportage by Frank Dahlgaard]

[Text] Denmark has developed a system which restricts labor and capital although we are badly in need of the opposite at this time.

There is only one tenable solution to Denmark's economic problems: a large-scale development of the export industry. We must eliminate unemployment and the trade deficit by means of production and exportation.

However, in order to develop our export industry, we need lots of active labor as well as capital investors who are willing to take a risk. These are non-existent in Denmark today. In spite of the unemployment situation, there is a marked shortage of workers in many industries and, in spite of our prosperity, there is also a lack of capital investors who are willing to take a risk.

Why do we find ourselves in this crazy situation?

Because in the last 10 to 15 years Denmark has pursued policies that have restricted capital and labor.

## Passive Capital

First, let us look at the capital situation. If we want to attract active capital, we cannot continue policies that are directly hostile to industry, which we have actually done.

Most of our youth today view stockholders and employers as almost social parasites. The hatred of private industry has actually led to fewer and fewer persons being willing to assume the role of employer and stockholder. Furthermore, it is frequently considered bad business to put money into active production.

Of approximately 140 stocks listed on the Danish stock exchange, almost half provided a direct negative yield in 1979, considering dividends, stock prices, subscription fees and the currency development. Only 20 of the 140 listed stocks yielded profits that were comparable to the effective interest on regular bonds.



## Double Taxation

This situation was by no means unique to 1979 and, as a result, private investors have stopped putting their money into stocks. The Copenhagen stock exchange has now arrived at a point where large institutions (the ATP Fund, the Social Pension Fund, insurance companies etc.) deal a little in each others' stocks.

Tax legislation in this country has helped drain capital away from industry. While stock profits are subject to double taxation, a large share of the profit on bonds and mortgages is tax free (i.e. quotation gains). Furthermore, since stock ownership entails the risk of losing invested capital, while bond ownership is a safe investment, it is not strange that all investors gradually choose bonds.

Only a week ago we read in the daily newspapers that Danish farmers have started to invest money in government bonds instead of in their own businesses.

An increasing number of Danish firms are choosing to move their new production abroad. Earnings in Denmark are too low--the business climate too poor.

## Passive Labor

The Danish system also encourages passiveness among labor--the second most important factor in production: tax legislation, social legislation and labor market policies punish the active and reward the passive.

The high tax on extra income in Denmark is well known and this phenomenon does not only affect high-income families; less well-to-do families soon discover that they get less housing aid, family allowance and student aid and that they eventually lose free entry into nursery schools when they actively try to increase their income, while their taxes go up.

For these reasons, many people are often worse off monetarily for doing extra work and so they do not even try it. Tax and social legislation thus force people--frequently against their will--to remain passive and a drain on public treasuries.

## Financial Assistance

The principle of our labor market policies is to give people financial assistance when they lose their jobs, good and long-lasting financial assistance. Very little money is spent on getting people back to active work. Sweden is doing a great deal more with respect to retraining, revalidation and supplementary education than does the passive labor market policy in Denmark. Refusing to work is not tolerated in Sweden to the extent it is here.

New figures show that almost 10,000 persons were continuously unemployed throughout 1979. In spite of the fact that there was a crying shortage of labor in large sections of the economy, not one of these 10,000 persons did one single day's work last year. The figures show that most of these long-term unemployed were young persons (especially women).

It can be said beyond a doubt that high unemployment benefits compete with industry for labor. Based on the average income, the difference between after-tax income and after-tax unemployment assistance is only 11 percent (compare NATIONAL-OKONOMISK TIDSSKRIFT 1979, Volume 117). The economic incentive to opt for work instead of unemployment has become exceedingly limited.

### Great Generosity

In the last few years our social policies have been completely out of touch with the economic reality.

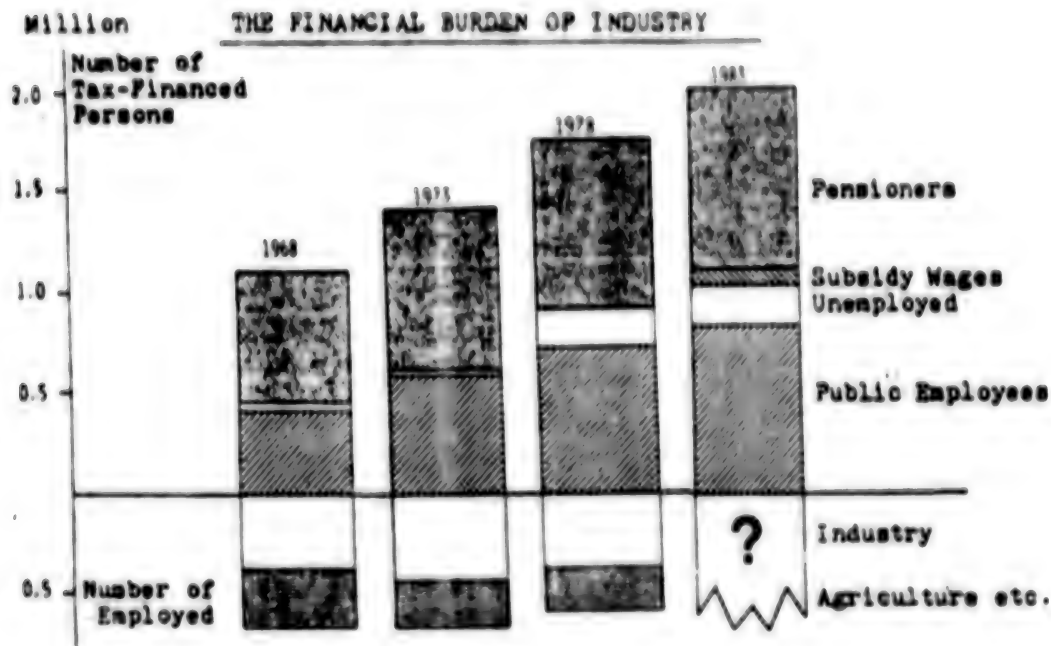
We have initiated a subsidy-wage arrangement which has drained industry of experienced labor and has cost billions of tax kroner. In 1977 the retirement age was lowered from 60 to 55. Phase one of the pension reform has been completed and plans are still under way to implement phase two. Parliament has just increased pension benefits by 190 million kroner annually. Cash payments under the assistance act have been allowed to explode (plus 177 percent in 3 years).

But our generosity, at the expense of the active worker, has not abated in spite of large government budget and balance-of-payment deficits.

Proposals have been submitted to improve the aid to students and to extend the pregnancy leave. If we add to that Parliament's adoption of a 5-week vacation last year and the announced proposal to prohibit overtime work, we must ask ourselves how Denmark can survive at all.

### The Consequence

All efforts seem to be aimed at making the population passive by means of vacation, pregnancy leave, subsidy wages, early retirement, disability pension, cash payments etc. In order to develop our export industry, we need to reward those who are willing to risk capital and to urge active business people to make a contribution. We must stop the explosive growth in the public sector as well as the heavy taxation and must enact policies that are pro business.



This shows the growth of industry's financial burden over the last 10 years and the development seems to continue. The columns above the zero line show the number of persons whose main income is paid by public funds. From 1968 to 1978 this number increased by 640,000 persons, i.e. 305,000 more public employees and 335,000 more pensioners and unemployed. During the same period, employment in the export industry (agriculture and industry) fell by 65,000 persons, compare columns below the zero line. Source: Council on Industry's Department of Industrial Economy.

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CSO: 3106

## ENERGY MINISTRY PLANS TO TAKE BACK OIL CONCESSIONS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 23 Feb 80 p 2

[Text] The main points in the prime minister's inaugural address, namely that the government will take back A. P. Moller's oil concessions much sooner than what was agreed upon in 1976 and negotiate the installation of a national oil pipeline, were after some delay conveyed in a statement of shipowner Marsk Mc-Kinney Moller at an Energy Ministry meeting yesterday.

The government's main complaint against Danish Underground Consortium's administration of the oil concessions is that there is not enough drilling. Hence, the government wants a speedier return of the oil concession areas, which, according to the 1976 agreement, were to be returned in terms of 10 percent per block per year, starting next year, and 10 percent every 5 years thereafter until half of the concession areas were returned by year 2000. Beginning in 2005, another 25 percent would be taken back.

According to the secret negotiations, the government now wants to speed up the return considerably so that most of the concessions would be returned in a few years.

Except for this, the area of utmost importance is still in the Danish North Sea. This area has yielded good findings and will provide Denmark with natural gas, among other things.

After consulting with public attorneys, among others, the Energy Ministry chose the soft approach as far as the Danish Underground Consortium was concerned, i.e. going after the big but not yet profitable concession areas. Except for explorations now under way in Southern Jutland, there has hardly been any sign of oil in areas other than those still in the hands of the Danish Underground Consortium (DUC), according to the negotiations.

However, A. P. Moller does not intend to put a quick end to the negotiations. For the time being, the company says it wants some time to study the statement, like the government did. In the meantime, the company has responded to the government's statement by waging a large-scale advertising campaign telling the public about their activities. The company says that by doubling its investments last year and tripling them this year, it is doing all it can to get the most oil in the shortest possible time from the North Sea.

A. P. Moller also complained that the issue is now being brought up again just 4 years after the last negotiations, following an indirect confirmation of the 1976 agreement last year when the natural gas agreement was concluded.

According to the negotiations, one of the government's main objectives is to chart all Danish underground oil deposits as quickly as possible. One way to do that is to take back the oil concessions as quickly as possible and then sell them again to others who might be interested. Several companies have shown interest in the areas that will be returned next year under any circumstance.

The American company Amoco as well as BP, both known for their ability to find oil, have expressed an interest, providing conditions meet with their approval.

The governmental oil pipeline is part of the government's attempt to provide a high degree of security with respect to oil supplies. A. P. Moller earlier rejected that idea and was supported by the director of Esso, who could see no advantage or economic security in such a pipeline.

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CSO: 3106

## BRIEFS

CD CHAIRMAN ENTERS FEUD--Peter Duetoft, national chairman of the Democratic Center Party, differs sharply with the party organization's assistant chairman H. E. Hillerup Jensen based on the latter's statement that party representatives in Parliament are running a solo race without maintaining sufficient contact with party members. "Hillerup Jensen must realize he has no support for the points of view he is advancing," said Duetoft. "The Center Democrats' separation of organizational and political work is a new phenomenon in Danish politics which protects voters' influence and nobody in the party wants it changed," said Peter Duetoft. [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Feb 80 p 7] 8952

CSO: 3106

## LEADERS OF 'GREENS' CHARACTERIZED AS 'RATHER GRAY'

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Apr 80 pp 26-27

[Article: "Perverse Power"]

[Text] The new leaders of the "Greens" are rather gray; the prominent people have withdrawn. For some in the alternative movement, the fact that the executive board members are not very well known, represents in itself some kind of a program.

One of them, a judge, occasionally drives "150 and more in fifth gear, whenever the road is clear," but, "naturally," he "fully supports speed limits" and "opposes the excessive construction of roads."

The other one, a pensioner, was a cofounder of the Christian Socialist Union, and now he gripes about Franz Josef Strauss because he "embodies the growth society and the arms industry."

The third one, member of an administrative board, is professionally active in Brussels, supporting the "Economic and Social Committee of the European Community," which "is almost unanimously in favor of nuclear power;" privately, of course, she is fighting against the fact that "the EC is developing into this perverse power bloc."

Since the weekend before last, the judge, the pensioner and the administrator have been chairmen of equal standing of the 13,000 West German "Greens:" Norbert Mann, 36, August Haussleiter, 75, and Petra Kelly, 32. They have until 5 October--this is their task and wish--to persuade at least 5 percent of the electorate to put the fourty party into Bonn's parliament.

The fact that the "Greens" and "Multicoloreds" are sending into the election campaign people who are "gray"--not very well known--rather than popular professionals like Bundestag Deputy Herbert Gruhl or the winners of the elections in Bremen and Baden-Wuerttemberg, Dinne and Hasenclever, is in itself "a piece of an alternative program," as far as they are concerned: "We do not want to create the kind of leaders that are found in established parties," Ms Kelly said.



They probably would have liked to. But both Gruhl, the founder of the "Greens," and Baldur Springmann, a specialist on economics who is known beyond the alternative scene, withdrew from the candidacy after the party rally in Saarbruecken adopted a "left-utopian program" (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG). And The "green" stars Dinne and Hasenclever had already declined at an earlier date: They prefer to be active in the Laender parliaments.

As a consequence, Chairman Haussleiter calls himself quite openly a deputy. After his election the stand-in said: "I am assuming Gruhl's position until he changes his mind--as a trustee of the union. When that is done I will be happy to withdraw."

He still has time. For the foundation of the new executive committee is already as controversial as its program. Whereas Winfried Kretschmann, Landtag deputy in Baden-Wuerttemberg, feels that he is "fully represented" by the presidium and Hasenclever, who had won an election, has high praise for the triumvirate ("an executive board almost after my own heart"), their colleague in Bremen is already at odds with the new "green" leadership: It is "an opportunistic group that has made a dubious peace," and he thinks, "they are completely up in the air."

Dinne is criticizing the fact that the substitute executive board "represents only a few," something which Chairman Kelly considers normal and inevitable. And her explanation is that all the "Greens" are, after all, individual fighters: "Many of them are spontaneous people who actually expressed themselves for the first time."

One of those who tried several times is Kelly's colleague, August Haussleiter--75 and not at all soft-spoken. After all, at one time the representative from Bavaria, who is now taking a stand "against the ban on practicing one's profession and against the draft," was already a leader in Franz Josef Strauss' party. In 1946, together with Alois Hundhammer and Josef ("Ochsenhepp") Mueller, he founded the CSU and he was its deputy chief for 1 year.

At that time, however, the Union was advocating "the division of Germany" and Haussleiter, who has always been an idealistically inclined drummer for national and social values, preferred to leave the party. The leftist from the Right founded the politically unsuccessful Deutsche Gemeinschaft [German Community], which later joined with the Aktionsgemeinschaft Unabhaengiger Deutscher (AUD) [Action Community of Independent Germans]--the founder of the party led them to join the "Greens."

Haussleiter's "green" future had already been programed in the AUD: It considered itself the "first German environmental protection party" and, according to a statement of principles of October 1977, it wanted to "use political means to bring about--for ecological reasons--a 'Copernican change' in Germany, necessary for survival"--describing the position of an "ecological socialist," which might receive the support of the majority of the "Greens" as well.

At times Haussleiter was accused of being a "radical leftist," at other times he was attacked for being a "right-winger," but in his own opinion all these accusations were always unfair. As far as he is concerned, his position has remained unchanged, only "society has moved to the right."

Kelly, his colleague on the executive board, cares "very little" about his eventful past, but she is of a similar opinion. The German-American, who studied politics in Washington and supported the Democratic U.S. senators Robert Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey during their election campaigns, resigned from the SPD last year. Responsible Social Democrats persistently refused to promote a series of investigations into the risk of cancer in the vicinity of nuclear powerplants and chemical works, and she did not want to go along with it any longer. Now she feels that her former party is "absolutely in no condition to be considered for a coalition."

The 32-year-old woman is quite emancipated. "I shall never marry," she vows and probably she cannot find the time for it either. The "Green" Kelly belongs to the jet set as far as alternative matters are concerned. On Thursday of last week, she presided in Bonn at the "Green" executive board meeting. On Friday she performed her duties in Brussels, serving Europe. On Saturday she joined 100,000 like-minded people in marching through London.

In Ireland, together with labor unionists, she wrote her contribution to the anti-atom book, "The Nuclear Island." And after her sister died of cancer, she founded in the FRG the "Children's Planet" society, which advocates psycho-social care for sick children.

The personal idol of the former Social Democrat is Rosa Luxemburg; politically she is striving for a West German counterpart to the undogmatic "Partito Radicale," which took a stand for the legalization of hashish in Italy and which is now represented in the Roman and in the European Parliament.

The radius of activities of Norbert Mann, Duisburg family judge and chairman of the "Greens" executive committee, is quite different. For a long time, he was also closely associated with the SPD. Now he has exchanged his sympathy and his bumper stickers for new ones (Alternatives--the "Greens"). Today his complaint is, the SPD "has no understanding at all for democracy within the party."

Already in 1972, Mann duped his "really conservative family" by publicly making his support for the social-liberals. Later he supported citizens' initiatives in North-Rhine-Westphalia, advocating noise protection near federal highway 1, joined the fight for the preservation of old mining communities and 2 years ago founded the regional environmental-protection list.

Now the chairman wants to tone down his middle-class surroundings--English period furniture and all the things that go along with it. He has already changed tennis clubs, leaving the fashionable one where he occasionally tossed balls to the Muelheim manager of the Power Plant Union.

He does not even like his green Porsche any more (Passenger Gruhl: "What kind of a car is that?"), he wants something different. Probably not a duck, but, "maybe a polo."

## CHARACTERISTICS OF GISCARDIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE, APPOINTMENTS

Paris LE MONDE DIMANCHE in French 2 Mar 80 pp 1, IV

[Article by Yves Agnes: "The Giscardian Government"]

[Excerpt] The appointment of Giscardians is a systematic undertaking. It does not only concern the most "political" ministries (Foreign Affairs, Defense, Interior), but the entire central administration (directors, deputy directors, and so on), prefects and academy rectors; public and parapublic organizations such as DATAR [Delegation for Territorial Development and Regional Action], the Deposit and Consignment Office, delegations; the banking sector, insurance and certain major companies, the information sector, particularly television networks and radio stations, both public and "private."

The criteria chosen are sufficiently strict to make the connections or relationship obvious. They include political activity itself, being part of a typically "Giscardian" staff or a personal or working relationship with the president or one of his near relations. In other words, these dozens of names represent only the tip of a deeply submerged iceberg. The opportunists, the "chameleons," the "defectors" are legion. Their number can only increase with an increasingly presidential, even monarchic, regime which imposes the "restraint of princes" even on lower echelons of administrative machinery. And furthermore, since Giscard d'Estaing is slow to forgive the slightest disloyalty, an atmosphere of fear is created in the civil service, whose counterpart is the growing conformism of public employees.

It is also worse because in what has now become a systematic manner, posts of administrative responsibility or those in the parapublic sector are given to men directly from ministerial offices. There is incessant two-way traffic between staffs and the government apparatus. No one takes umbrage at this, except for ousted high officials who grit their teeth as they go back to the Council of State, the Audit Office, or are assigned -- if indeed they are -- to posts of lesser importance. But the spread of this practice unfailingly leads to an increased politicization, even if one can agree that a government prefers to work with close high-level officials rather than opponents. One can also understand that the president and

the government are anxious to surround themselves with men of quality and that they obviously have no reason to hurt their career later on, but from there to worrying about it excessively is quite another thing. It is a question of scope and proportion whose limits have clearly been exceeded.

#### Rectors

Finally, it is worse because we have witnessed a politicization totally contrary to the previous practice in certain administrations. The example of education is particularly striking. Academy rectors under the Fourth Republic and even under De Gaulle were not "politicians." Under the presidency of Georges Pompidou, a Gaullist, Raymond Prieur (now still a member of the Central Committee of the RPR [Rally for the Republic] was named rector of Amiens after serving as director of elementary and secondary education in Paris.

Following Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's accession to the presidency, a dozen rectors committed to him were appointed, including election candidates such as Jean-Pierre Chaudet (Antilles-Guyana), Loïc Sparfel (Amiens), Jean-Claude Dischamps (Clermont-Ferrand), Pierre Magnin (Strasbourg), Daniel Laurent (Paris, secretary general of the Institute of Political Evolution set up by Poniatowski), Claude Roche (Rouen), and so on. But among the "graduates," one also finds signers of the University Committee's appeal to support the candidacy of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing: Yves Durand (Aix-Marseille), Henri Le Goherel (Besançon).

This Giscardian wave stormed an administrative fortress in which to date, the government had had to play a cautious game with the trade unions and reckon with the dissent of the young. Woe to those judged to be too close to the left: Jean Deygout, director of schools in the Ministry of Education, was replaced in November 1978 by a member of the minister's staff. Claude Durand-Prinborgne, rector of Nantes, considered to be a "leftist liberal," was dismissed in December 1978.

#### Dismissal of Gaullists

The same attrition could be seen among the prefects. Between the election of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the presidency and January 1980, there were 164 assignment changes in the prefectorial corps: 24 for 1979 alone, proof that the process is continuous and was not confined to a purge in 1974 or 1976 after the break with Jacques Chirac. All the regional prefects have been changed since April 1977, except for the prefect of Ile-de-France. These "political" mutations were emphasized in the columns of LE MONDE as early as June 1974 (LE MONDE of 14 June 1974) and several times since.

The "dismissals" of old Gaullists -- there are now no more than 11 prefects close to the RPR -- were accompanied by a promotion of those close to the president and his ministers: Philippe Sauzay, prefect of Sarthe, former chief of staff at the Elysee Palace, Charles-Noël Hardy, prefect of



Loir-et-Cher (former secretary general of the Perspectives and Realities clubs), Raymond-François Le Bris, prefect of Ain (former chief of staff of Jean-Pierre Solasson, Universities), Gérard Prioux, prefect of Vosges (formerly UNR [Union for the New Republic] deputy, then chief of staff of René Haby), Louis de Faucigny-Lucinge, prefect of Orne (cousin of Mrs Anne-Aymone Giscard d'Estaing). In June 1975, Lucien Lanier, prefect of Pas-de-Calais but head of finance of the campaign of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was promoted as prefect of the Parisian region, a post confirmed in 1977 at the time of the reorganization of the region.

In the central administration, as in the prefectorial administration, the operation was launched following the presidential election of 1974 and has relentlessly continued since that time. Examples abound and one finds several dozen names -- for the directors general or directors alone -- by applying the strict criteria defined above.

In April 1978, for example, Pierre Richard, technical adviser to the Elysee Palace, was taking his place in the General Directorate of Local Communities in the Ministry of Interior, replacing Marcel Blanc (considered a Gaullist), while Robert Pandraud, former chief of staff of Michel Poniatowski, took over his duties as director general of the administration: two key posts within 3 years of the presidential election. The director of political affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has since August 1979 been Gabriel Robin, former adviser to the Elysee Palace, and the director of economic and financial affairs, Jean-Claude Paye, came from the staff of Raymond Barre (May 1979).

### Cross-Crossing

The Ministry of Defense traditionally benefits from the president's prerogative over appointments. Gen Guy Mery, chief of staff of the Armed Forces, is a personal friend of the president, whose private chief of staff he once was. Gen Roger Rhenter, secretary general of national defense, considered to be a Giscardian, succeeded a Gaullist, Gen Jean Simon, grand chancellor of the Order of Liberation.

In the Ministry of Education, the new director of schools is René Couanau (November 1978), former member of the staff of Christian Beullac. Until 20 February, the director of teaching personnel for lycées was Pierre Vandevoorde (July 1976), who came from the staffs of Joseph Fontanet and René Haby; he has just been named director of the book trade. In the Ministry of Industry, more staff men: François de Wissocq, director general of energy and raw materials, Jean-Pierre Capron, director of fuels, and Jean-Pierre Sonviron, director general of industry, chosen by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Agriculture is no exception to the rule, with, in particular, Bernard Auberger, director of production and trade; Claude Kornblum, director of agricultural and food industries. In the Ministry of Culture, Jacques

Charpentier, new director of music (January 1979), replaced Jean Maheu, former aid to General de Gaulle in the Elysee Palace, at the prompting of Mrs Isabelle de Lasteyrie du Saillant, sister of the president and a "busybody" in the office of Minister Jean-Philippe Lecat. Jean-Louis Langlais, director of youth and socioeducational activities in the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Leisure, comes from Barre's staff. Alain Serieyx, director of tourism, is a former Gaullist "defector" who in July 1976 became national secretary of independent republicans.

In the Ministry of Universities, Jacques Beguin, director of higher education (January 1979), was a signer of the university appeal to support the candidacy of Giscard d'Estaing in 1974 and then joined the staff of Solisson. In Transport, Jean Costat, director of domestic transport, comes from the staff of Jean-Pierre Fourcade, and Philippe Brongniart, director of the commercial fleet, comes from Matignon. In the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, Gerard Thery, director general of telecommunications, was named by the president, to whom he is related.

The criss-crossing also involves the numerous organizations under the government in the most varied sectors. We shall cite but a few, but the list is a long one. In the French Foreign Trade Center, Guy Carron de la Carriere was an adviser to Giscard d'Estaing in the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The National Consumers Institute is headed by Pierre Fauchon, former secretary general of the Democratic Center and general council member from Loir-et-Cher. The delegate for quality of life is Jean-Claude Colli, former vice president of the Radical Party and president of the Social Democratic Coalition (he replaced Jean-Francois Saglio, who was on the staff of Georges Pompidou in the Elysee Palace). The Nineteenth Century Museum was entrusted to Jean-Philippe Lachenaud, mayor of Pontoise, UDF [French Democratic Union] delegate in Val-d'Oise. The French-Quebec Office for Youth was placed under Dominique Bussereau, former secretary general of the Young Giscardians Movement during the time of the "social and liberal generation."

Two parapublic sectors, whose importance is obvious, were the subject of special attention: the banks and information. Two major nationalized banks are now headed by former direct aides of Valery Giscard d'Estaing: Claude Pierre-Brossolette at Credit Lyonnais and Jacques Calvet at the BNP [National Bank of Paris]. To be followed closely is the succession of Maurice Laure, who has headed the General Company since 1973. The general director of the French Foreign Trade Bank is Francois Giscard d'Estaing, first cousin of the president.

Since October 1975, the Land Bank of France has been headed by Max Laxan, adviser to Giscard d'Estaing in the Ministry of Economy and Finance and then general tax director, following Faurist Roger Blot and Gaullist Roger Goetze.

Information: At the 14 June 1978 press conference and in response to Ivan Levai, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing took this precise example to dissipate doubt and straightforwardly declared: "I do not see the changes you mention." One has but to consult the list of leaders to note that on the contrary, it is a sector in which the "takeover" has been nearly complete and that it was already underway before 1978. For example, Xavier Gouyou-Beauchamps, former Elysee spokesman and then prefect of Ardeche, was named president of the Financial Radiobroadcasting Company (SOFIRAD) in June 1975, replacing Chirac supporter Denis Baudouin. Through SOFIRAD, the government controls, partially or totally, Europe 1 (35 percent), Radio Monte Carlo (83 percent), and Sud Radio (99 percent). The same holds true of the director of Radio Monte Carlo, Michel Basel, former aide to Giscard d'Estaing and leader of the Association for Democracy, set up for the 1978 elections, the managing director of the RTL (expansion unknown), Jacques Rigaud, former aide to Francois-Poncet, and most of the heads of radio stations, the presidents of the three television networks, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE (AFP), and the French Publicity Administration. The secretary general of the Audiovisual Council is Gerard Montassier, the president's own son-in-law and departmental representative of the UDF in Charente.

#### Anti-RPR

But the recent changes at AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE are as revealing as the appointments in the audiovisual field. The new chairman of the board, Henri Pigeat, comes directly from the Information and Dissemination Department, under the prime minister. This graduate of the ENA [National School of Administration] was appointed with the backing of Elysee and the complicity of part of the representatives of the press on the agency's board of directors. Now then, AFP, which has autonomous status, is the main supplier of news from the French press organs, without counting its numerous foreign customers. The risk of political intervention in the central core of the information system is great and blunders have already been committed.

The "Giscardianization" of the government apparatus has been carried forward with subtlety -- considering the difficult relationship with Gaullists in the majority -- and has been based on the entourage of RPR ministers close to the president, particularly Alain Peyrefitte (Justice) and Yvon Bourges (Defense) and thanks to the "defection" of Jacques Chaban-Delmas upon his election to the presidency of the National Assembly (3 April 1978). Yves Cannac then became a bridge between the "Chabanists" and the pure Giscardians. The case of Cannac is in itself exemplary. A former member of Chaban-Delmas' staff at Matignon and then deputy secretary general at Elysee. In May 1978, he was appointed chairman of the board of the HAVAS agency by its board, which, under pressure from the Elysee Palace, had just "unloaded" Jean Meo, former aide to General de Gaulle.



The hunt for the Gaullist witches then slackened, but the operation was subsequently waged to the detriment of the hard-line faction of the RPR, which continued to support Jacques Chirac after his departure from Matignon and his famous "Cochin appeal." Also significant was the appointment, in April 1978, of Andre Chadeau to DATAR (Delegation for Territorial Development and Regional Action). Chadeau was the organizer of the presidential campaign of Chaban-Delmas, a post previously held by Jerome Monod, a Gaullist, and later by his deputy, Francois Esgig.

### Allegiance

One can thus classify the phalanxes of the regime into six groups:

**The early Giscardians:** These are the early loyal followers of the president, from his party (the independent republicans, who became the Republican Party) and his lieutenants: Michel Poniatowski, Jean-Pierre Soisson, Michel d'Ornano, and so on.

**The centrists and the radicals:** Following the victory in the presidential election, the establishment and development of the UDF, the centrists of Ledanuet and the Valois radicals have not stopped giving proof of loyalty and making life hard for the RPR. They are rewarded.

**The "defectors":** In the corridors of government, places are hard to come by. Political friendships, on the right and the left, often pay little heed to loyalty. Many high officials or council members shifted positions at just the right time and the opportunities are provided to do so: In 1974, first of all, Jacques Chirac rallied to Giscard d'Estaing. In 1978, the situation was then turned around in favor of Jacques Chaban-Delmas. The RPR Giscardians close to Gaullist ministers still in the government or certain socialists at heart attracted by the liberal society thereby show their allegiance.

**The "distinguished" technocrats:** In the hotbed of technocrats without any political fame, the current president has been able to bring out a certain number of prominent figures, the "minister technicians," including Simone Veil and Alice Saunier-Seïte, Rene Haby, Jean-Pierre Fourcade, Andre Giraud, and so on. Technicians, the ministers did not remain so for long. Likewise, Valery Giscard d'Estaing drew upon the milieu of the high officials, "distinguishing" them by appointments and often making them vassals. At the proper time, these neo-Giscardians will be candidates in municipal, cantonal or legislative elections.

**Former finance officials:** One cannot head a ministry for 15 years without leaving a profound mark and in countless ways, gaining the devotion of one's aides. Many directors or technical advisers from the Rue de Rivoli have enjoyed brilliant careers in important posts for the past 6 years.

**Family and friends:** Members of the Giscard d'Estaing family have had their positions strengthened. Personal friends of the president and his family, particularly in banking and the arts, have also been "singled out."

## CREATION OF RPR-LEFT WING GAULLIST LIAISON COMMITTEE

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Mar 80 p 12

[Article: "Creation of Liaison Committee Between RPR and Gaullist Movements"]

[Text] At the initiative of Mr Jean Charbonnel--who last January was appointed general delegate of the RPR [Rally for the Republic] in charge of coordinating Gaullist movements, several groups have held a meeting at the National Assembly on Monday 10 March and have agreed to meet at regular intervals.

In addition to RPR delegates, the meeting was attended by delegates of the Federation of Progressive Republicans (chairman: Mr Pierre Dabiez who succeeded Mr Charbonnel), the Republican and Socialist Initiative (chairman: Mr Leo Hamon), the Union of Youth for Progress, the Gaullist Students' Action, and the New Frontier Club.

This is the first time since the departure of General de Gaulle in 1969 that an official rapprochement between left-wing Gaullist groups and the Gaullist movement has taken place. The rift between the two tendencies had further deepened when Mr Giscard d'Estaing was elected president of the republic and Mr Chirac general secretary of the UDR, then president of the RPR. Since Mr Chirac's movement has adopted a more dissenting attitude toward the president's policy, certain Gaullists in the opposition have become reconciled with him, as Monday's meeting has shown.

Nevertheless, a few groups remain quite hostile to any cooperation with the RPR. They are those who do not want to break with the communists and socialists with whom they had become reconciled at the time of the union of the left, within which they had hoped to form a "Gaullist component." This is the case of Mr Debu-Bridel's Democratic Workers' Union, and of Mr Jacques Blache's Federation of Progressive Gaullists which was created as a result of the splitting of the Federation of Progressive Republicans.

## PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF NEW SOCIALIST-GAULLIST DIALOGUE

Paris LE MONDE in French 16-17 Mar 80 p 8

[Article by Jean Charbonnel, former minister, appointed general delegate of the RPR in January 1980: "A Necessary Dialogue"]

[Text] Is the dialogue between Gaullists and socialists--for which we were praying in this very column six months ago--off to a bad start? After moving to the foreground of current events for several weeks, it seems to have faded away or, when it occasionally reappears, to be more of a dialogue between people on different wavelengths than the frank and serious debate we had hoped for. Why? Is it possible to make a first evaluation already now?

The relations between socialists and Gaullists can be evaluated on three different levels: the daily political level; the level of reflection on the doctrine; the level of fundamental strategy.

On the first level, it cannot be denied that some results have been achieved. Following the statements of Messrs Debre, Hernu, Poncelet, in the summer and fall of 1979, the meeting between Messrs Chirac and Mitterrand--no matter how short and formal it may have been--has contributed to breaking the ice which had gradually thickened over years of quarrels and misunderstandings. True, these initiatives have surprised and sometimes shocked party members, ill-prepared for such an acceleration of history, and, here and there, residual oppositions have hardened. But we could give many more examples of contacts which have spontaneously taken place between elected officials, in municipalities, enterprises and associations. These encounters have been all the more significant as they did not involve only certain trends in the socialist party or only the Gaullist opposition: they have been very varied and often very unexpected. Who would not rejoice about it? Is this not a sign of the decontraction in public life which the president is very rightly praying for?

## "Convergences"

With respect to reflection on the doctrine, it is also easy to perceive many convergences between Gaullists and socialists. How closely related, in particular, are the analyses made during the past months by the RPR [Rally for the Republic] leadership and the (oral or written) interventions of many socialists and, in the first place, the program of that party! When this document proclaims that "a great nation cannot for very long remain without a great destiny," that French history should be given a new meaning, and that the nation remains the privileged setting for political action, the Gaullists can both congratulate themselves on such a similarity with their own preoccupations and their own style, and reflect with J.-P. Chevenement that the new socialist party is decidedly a child of the Fifth Republic. A few years ago, some socialists had, in the same way, noticed a disturbing similarity between the Gaullist approach to detente and cooperation and the ancient demands supported for years by their leaders in all national and international forums. To tell the truth, these reciprocal borrowings or--if one prefers--this reciprocal influence of one party on the other, should not surprise: they are only the sign of a certain inspiration shared by all, deeply rooted in several intellectual currents of the French 19th century, and the fruit of a similar way of reacting to events, which can, in fact, lead to very similar conclusions.

Obviously, we cannot give here an exhaustive list of such convergences which might be traced in several fields: diplomatic, military, but also economic and social. What we want to make clear is that equally numerous divergences can also be found between the two formations, both in the detail of the socialist project and in the "archaeomaxist" phraseology in which it is expressed. This might make the subject of many a fruitful symposium where clubs of both obediences would meet... For that, however, the socialists would have to stop caricaturing Gaullism by presenting it as "a historical parenthesis destined to permit, through a change of generations and values, the mutation of the old French bourgeoisie and its coming back into business." For that, the socialists would have to stop disfiguring Gaullism by favoring the "productive values, whether national or imposed by authority" which it is supposed to contain, while systematically ignoring that it is, at the same time, a search for independence and progress, a permanent struggle for the greatness of France and for international solidarity, an effort to develop national economic power and to enable the French people to share in making decisions on their future.

However, it is obviously with respect to political strategy that the situation appears to be deadlocked. The reasons for this are obvious: the position--be it ever more critical--of the RPR within the majority, the attachment--be it ever so disenchanted--of the socialist party for a certain mythology of the union of the left, the weight of past history, the internal divisions of the socialist party, even though the Gaullists, unlike the UDF [French Democratic Union] have always refrained from taking advantage of

them. But the most serious fact has probably been the vote-catching attempts of certain party headquarters, too much in a hurry to "fish for votes" for the second turn of the coming presidential election. The president and the general secretary of the RPR have clearly indicated that no one should expect the Gaullist movement to take part in operations of this kind which would be contrary to both its dignity and its interest.

Should one, then, despair of any rapprochement or resign oneself to the somber courage of William the Silent who did not find it necessary "to succeed in order to persevere"? We do not think so, both because, in our opinion, the national and international situation requires--much more so now than six months ago--a rallying for public safety which would represent a genuine alternative to our country's present policy, and because, beyond party headquarters' calculations, when all is said and done, the last word belongs to the citizens. It is precisely in order to enable them to make an informed decision before it is too late for the country that we hope that the necessary dialogue will be resumed now at the level of the doctrine, i.e. where it should have taken place to begin with.

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CSO:3100

## MRG'S JEANTET ON OBJECTIVES, IDEALS OF LEFT RADICAL MOVEMENT

Paris LE MATIN in French 8 Mar 80 p 11

[Statement of the MRG [Left Radical Movement] by National Secretary Thierry Jeantet]

[Text] Here is a militant's text; the tone leaves no doubt. It is also the text of one of the MRG leaders who believes that a victory of the Left is still possible. That left sketched out by Raymond Maire, Michel Crepeau, Brice Lalonde, Roger Garaudy, Haroun Tazieff and several others.

We want victory for the Left despite the pessimism of some and the mistakes of others. We want a Left greater than the lefts, a purged and witnessing Left, a passionate and limitless Left. In truth, we want--and quickly--the Left!

We need a witnessing Left. First of all, the Left must be the keen witness of the Hexagon [France]. Sheltered behind the mountains and the sea, the French think they are cosily protected by a regime of liberties. [Begin italics] "If we have the chance," [end italics] they sigh, content not to share in the disappointments of younger democracies or pretended people's democracies. As if we had the right to forget for one moment the bars closing behind Jean Fabre, or even today behind prisoners of conscience. As if we could efface from our memory the extradition of Klaus Croissant, of Piperno, or, even today, of more anonymous immigrants. The Left must quit hesitating, it should take the lead, more than ever, in defending the free movement and free expression of all immigrants, of all those born here or who have chosen this country. The witnessing Left should not hold to a set of freedoms which relate too much to the past, but to a permanent set seeking enlargement of the scope of liberty.

We need a Left purged of its old dogmas. We are not speaking of renouncing ideas, or struggles, or the achievements of the Left of yesterday. We are not calling for Marx or Blum to be knocked from their pedestals, but for a realization that if we still admire them, it is for the advances they made



in their own time; so let us not sit still in our own. The Left must once again be the founder, the one who opens up the way, who holds out the choices. Aware of the changes in progress, aware of the new human and natural balance to which we aspire, it must urge an acceleration of changes for the better attainment of a convivial society.

We need a passionate Left. It is true, we no longer put up with insults and false smiles. We aspire to a Left (composed) of the silent, the forgotten, the obscure, to a Left which at the base is listening to all those who, in truth, ask nothing of their station, of their life, except to speak, to imagine, to enliven a different society.

The Left must also be the hope of those without map, without Bible, without flag. It is not a question of falling in with the litanies against the ENA (National School of Administration) and officials, or against party activists and politicians; no, rather we want to escape choruses and excommunications. We want for politics to be not only a game of news manipulation or the arena for clan conflict, but more simply the daily exercise of our choices in every area of life. The Left of spontaneous democracy is something we will not seek in any pre-existing model; it must be that of the immediate future. Far from quarreling over words or people, the youngest are now showing that what creates a little happiness in the bargain is an immediate and above all practical way of being, not the old poorly patched-up slogans.

We need a limitless Left. We believe that the Left must welcome those who have been or still are fooled by the regime in power. Yes, we think that in face of the power of the press and the skillful lying of the right, the Left must act more through explanation, information, and training than through anathema and condemnations. It is a matter of isolating the manipulators, the humbugs, and not of isolating a part of the population. More than ever, the Left must open its doors to those who have voted for or are inscribed in the rolls of UDF and RPR, for they did not vote for or choose unemployment or inflation, but for broken or forgotten promises.

This courageous and caring Left, this Left of the renaissance, in short the Left, is something we want tomorrow morning and not 10 or 20 years down the road. It has been outlined from Edmond Maire to Michel Crepeau, not to mention Brice Lalonde, Roger Garaudy, Haroun Tazieff and several others; it is in filigree, it is emerging. Full of demands and hopes, we await a quickening of its development. Political leaders, but also all party activists bear the responsibility for its future, a difficult and delicate and complex task, but one it is necessary to accomplish starting now. Let us not wait to be submerged in crises and drowned out by the echoes of soldiers' footsteps in the world. Let us quickly get out, with these political leaders, from our ideological jalousies, leave acronyms and traditions behind us, and not let the Left flee and hide out in an improbable "elsewhere." Quickly, let us help them, the time is now!

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CSO: 3100



## FRENCH SOURCE ASSESSES PROSPECTS OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 1 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by Jean-Francois Mongibeaux]

[Text] A new specter looms up at us from the cold: that of chemical and bacteriological warfare. The Afghan rebels, refugees in Pakistan are positive: the Red Army is using toxic gases to drive away the Mujahidines from their snowy summits. As for the town, out of bounds to foreigners, of Sverdlovsk, in the Ural, it was allegedly struck by a very mysterious disease.

The Soviets deny unflaggingly, on one hand the use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, and on the other hand, the report that the Sverdlovsk "incidents" are due to any defect in the storage of biological weapons. Is there any violation in the international agreements banning the conservation and use of B-C weapons (bacteriological and chemical agents)? It is more than likely, both by the East and the West, where preparation for this type of conflicts is obviously speeding up. But the frightening part of the latest reports is that they tend to prove that the Red Army is now experimenting with various neurotoxic agents, violating flagrantly the Geneva Protocol, which had been initiated by the Soviets; that it has been protecting itself for years against the effects of conflicts of this type, in particular by training its units for combat in toxic environment; and therefore that it is preparing effectively for the hypothesis of total war (NBC war).

In this connection, the QUOTIDIEN consulted various experts, who wished to remain anonymous for obvious reasons. Their conclusions are alarming.

Early in 1980, the Red Army was launched against Afghanistan. In their offices in Washington, Paris or London, specialists study with the magnifying glass the photos which are beginning to arrive from Kabul. Suddenly, one of them gave a start: on a press photo, he had identified a TMS65, the famous Soviet decontamination vehicle. This vehicle, equipped with an enormous ventilator, is meant for massive clean-up of combatants and equipment in contact with toxic substances, vaporizing intensively on the latter

the ad hoc decontamination products (1). The Afghan rebels being obviously without chemical or bacteriological weapons, the latter were to be used by the Russians. QED!

Moscow's expected answer: the Soviet units never move without transporting all the types of equipment they have. This is indeed what is known as the "organic concept" of the Soviet armed forces. An APN (Novosti Press Agency) dispatch even specifies: "These protection units against gases are an integral part of the large units, as much as the kitchen or the repair workshop (sic)!" Alas in the subsequent weeks, the first Afghan refugees streaming into Pakistan describe in extremely precise terms, the Red Army's use of military gases. The testimony of these unpolished men, gathered systematically by different western observers in Peshawar, leave no doubt on the truth of the facts. "For about 2 months, Mig aircraft have been dropping containers in the mountain region of Kuhnar. These containers release gases toxic to eyes and skin" according to a delegate of the Human Rights Federation, among dozens of other just as positive reports.

These circumstances, coming after other testimony gathered previously in Laos, Cambodia, even in Vietnam (where the Chinese Army allegedly used gases also) or in Erythrea, feed the network of assumptions, if not proofs, that the latest conflicts have seen the use by one of the belligerents, of a terrifying "argument", banned in principle by the laws of war.

#### Strange Events

Exactly a year ago, another incident had revived the specter of bacteriological warfare. In March-April, 1979, an important town of the Ural, Sverdlovsk (a million inhabitants) was the scene of curious events. So far as we know, it is a city "closed" to foreigners, hundreds of persons died in strange conditions. Finally, as it always does, news began to filter through. The western press repeated it: a plant or godown of chemical products for military purposes, was the object of "leaks". Dangerous products contaminated the population. Some of the Jews emigrating to Israel gave details gathered on the spot. The epidemic had indeed originated from a factory of "biological products"; the first victims were some officers, and dozens of workmen of a nearby cement plant. The bodies were buried immediately in coffins "of wood surrounded by metal". All the ground around Sverdlovsk was scoured and cleaned by specialized teams; the survivors were vaccinated and they were forbidden to eat meat or products which may have been contaminated... Alarmed, by virtue of the 1975 agreement (signed by the USSR, the U.S., and 85 countries, including France) on bacteriological and chemical warfare. Washington demands explanations from the Kremlin. Strangely, without needing much persuasion, the Soviets comply: they immediately assert that it was an epidemic, what could be more natural, of "Siberian anthrax". Well, the Americans are always skeptical. First of all, because of the

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1. A detailed description of the TSM65 was given in the *Puissance Militaire Soietique* (Elsevier publishers) /Soviet Military Power/.

conditions in which the funerals of the victims took place, buried without having been presented to the families with "uncovered faces", customary in the Orthodox tradition; then because of certain testimony describing brownish stains on the corpses, and not the pink ones which would have been caused by the coal disease!

The American experts continue to study the "explanations" furnished by Moscow, but if one is to believe reliable sources, Washington intends shortly to make a great issue of this matter, particularly at the international level.

### "That Is the Future"

Chemical warfare, bacteriological warfare! Has man therefore resuscitate "artificially" those ancient medieval scourges which generations of researchers had managed to banish? This is quite evident today, when we know that considerable funds have been allocated both in the West and in the East, to BC warfare research and experiments. An expert even confided in us that: "It was the future", adding that only 3 powers are in the forefront in the studies of this sector, the Soviet Union, France and the United States. Well informed sources estimate, for instance, that the Red Army has more than 100,000 BC specialists, as compared with 2,000 in the U.S. Army (no figures were revealed for France). Furthermore, it is asserted that 40 percent of the Soviet armament consists in bacteriological and chemical weapons.

For example, most of the carriers or artillery pieces in the Red Army can fire indifferently BC or classical "munitions."

It is also sure, that (since about 1973) all Soviet armored vehicles are equipped to maneuver in toxic environment. Finally it is estimated, on the basis of reliable information, that the USSR has about a million tons of stocks of chemical or bacteriological weapons, representing, for the sake of comparison, nearly 5 times the amount used during World War I (2).

It is one thing to stock these products, easy to produce, at the present scientific level. It is quite another thing to know their effects and the best "means of using them." To do so, the United States and the USSR have been carrying out experiments for several decades. We know for instance, that in Vietnam, the Americans used defoliating agents and napalm (which is also a chemical weapon). But experiments were also carried out on the territory of the New World between 1950 and 1975. It seems by the way that the U.S. Researchers "benefited" from the experience acquired by the Nazis, but also...by the French. In this connection, it is stated that following research on insecticides, meant for use on lice, the French generously gave their "recipe" to the Americans in June 1940.

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2. 28 chemical agents and 16 combinations of these agents were used in the 1914-1918 War, to a tune of 124,000 tons (66,400 tons by the Germans and 57,600 by the Allies).

The press across the Atlantic recently revealed that a secret allocation of 78 million dollars was devoted to a program of BC research spread over 25 years, with the participation of voluntary and paid prisoners and military personnel. Subsequent experiments conducted by "sorcerer apprentices", both in the United States and the Soviet Union, have not taken place without accidents. For example, a capricious wind brought over American sheep a vast toxic cloud, causing the violent death of thousands of sheep. In Siberia, a few years ago, a disaster occurred, due to an alleged nuclear power accident. But the western information services assert that it was actually an NBC experiment with real firing. And thousands of Soviet troops, starting depeptive combinations, bore the brunt of the operation!

There are therefore considerable stocks of chemical and bacteriological weapons, more or less recent, throughout the world, experiments in the open have actually taken place, the question remaining to be posed is: for what final use are these terrifying weapons intended?

#### Strict Secrecy

The experts we consulted have no illusion: although the western countries have obviously no desire for aggression, and they conduct their programs at a defensive, and particularly at the deterrent level, this is not the case for the Soviets. According to all these experts, all the Soviet laboratories have a military section, in which the most rigorous secrecy prevails. Virology is a medical discipline very advanced in the USSR and it is this science which "enriches" from day to day the arsenal of biological warfare (smallpox, typhoid, botulus virus, anthrax, etc.). But it is the chemical weapon, more easily mastered, which is included fully in the Soviet military offensive concept, permitting in particular commando operations, such as the poisoning of water reserves or food stocks which would destroy and demoralize brutally the military and civilian enemy.

The World Health Organization (WHO), which became disturbed by this increasingly precise threat, does not hesitate to declare that: "the decision to manufacture bacteriological and chemical weapons implies that, for reasons not yet determined and at some point not yet known, they will end up being used", and add "we assume that these weapons really constitute a terrible threat to man's survival." (3).

Is the bacteriological and chemical warfare, the last phase of "progress" in the matter of weapons (classical, nuclear or BC) around the corner? If this were so, the western countries are no more prepared than the Afghan mujahidin, we must admit. And they would be more vulnerable even physiologically and physiologically.

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3. "Public Health and Bacteriological and Chemical Weapons", WHO, 11, rue Lavoisier, 75008, Paris.

## NUCLEAR PLANT WORKERS' MOTIVATIONS EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE DIMANCHE in France 16 Mar 80 p V

[Article by Claire Briere: "The Nuclear Workers"]

[Text] What do the nuclear workers think of their work? Do they get used to living with the chained monster? At the Bugey power plant, at the La Hague plant, attitudes are different.

When one takes the road toward the rural banks of the Rhone, as far as the eyes can see, there is it alone. And especially its four immense cooling towers, which plume the atmosphere with vapor. Then one makes out its enclosures, the administrative buildings, and finally the spotless domes of its reactors: Bugey, France's biggest nuclear power plant. Five reactors: one graphite-gas and four PWR [Pressurized Water Reactors] of 900 megawatts. They produce 10 percent of French electricity. Not a bit less.

Not very esthetic, on the whole; seen from the outside, a nuclear installation is only a pot-bellied mammoth that wastes the countryside. One has to go inside to see and feel the life that palpitates in it. What life! The control room of Bugey IV, adjacent to the reactor building, shut in under its concrete dome, orders, records and corrects all the movements of the power plant. It is auscultated from two desks, at which 13 EDF [French (Electric) Power Company] employees, dressed in white smocks, work in subdued silence.

Dials, counters, lighted buttons, levers--the reactor's brain busies itself in a ballet of flickers, of automated graphs. One can hear it hum and give, every second, the detailed state of the power plant's operation on a teleprinter which the unit chief never takes his eyes off. Pronuclear, antinuclear? One can hardly resist the fascination. It is beautiful, a miracle of technology.

As for Marc, he has "chosen the nuclear." He has been at Bugey for 15 months, he has solid training, and he is lyrical. "I am happy to be working in the nuclear field. For me, it is the most beautiful of technical fields, it is all very elegant, and it has bewitched and fascinated me and



aroused intense curiosity. I devour all the technical books, all the publications on the atom. I am convinced that it is the system of the future. And when I go into the reactor building, I feel the power plant breathing." No uneasiness, Marc? We shall come back to that question.

EDF = Expert

Going through the door of the control room and into the machinery room, one penetrates into a gigantic animal that beats and bange and hammers with infernal noise. The steam exits from the atomic core at 300 degrees. It runs through enormous metal casings, glittering, hurle into colossal turbines, and returns to the condensers.

But this is not the nuclear zone as such. One has to penetrate deeper into the power plant, approach its core, to realize that a strange feeling inspires the people in nuclear power. A long dressing room, shower units, checking rooms. A grillwork and a guard. Special card. A dosimeter film for each employee: this is the nuclear Acheron. No civilian clothing crosses over the line: one goes into the BAN, the nuclear auxiliary building, the antechamber of the reactor. "In the BAN," says Alain, who has been at Bugey for 5 years, "one feels cut off from the outside, one works at some operation--on a valve leak, for example--and one spends an equivalent time protecting oneself. When all is said and done, one asks oneself questions ceaselessly, but one sees nothing, one feels nothing." When we come back, the check is a severe one: a belt moving on running water to wash the soles, detection cabinets with a special position for the hands, which tells you on a screen, "not contaminated"; special dressing room. One leaves through an ultrasensitive glass door which refuses to open to the least contamination. One then has to go back and into the shower. The BAN opens onto another world: silent, hot, radioactive, and of clinical cleanliness. Behind the grillworks and the lead doors circulate or are stored the reactor's effluents: boron, hydrogen, nitrogen, etc. Injection tanks, chemical-additive tanks, controlled by hundreds and hundreds of valves, delicate and sophisticated plumbing, regulated from the control room. Except, obviously, in case of leak: that is when the EDF agents go into action.

Trained in the EDF schools from the 11th or 12th grade on, they rightly claim the competencies of highly experienced technicians. Anywhere in the "zone," inside the reactor or in the BAN, they know what equipment they are working on, they decide what outfit to wear. They hardly need any advice from management to ensure their own safety with full knowledge of the situation. EDF = expert.

Where, then, does the malaise come from, when Richard, echoing everyone else and using disillusioned mimicry to support his remarks, declares: "I am not against nuclear power, it is needed, but I am like the others--the less work I have to do in there, the better off I am." "Fear?" "No," they reply. The word is too strong: "Apprehension, a little uneasiness. An uneasiness that grows and progresses with the functioning of the power

plant. In the BAN, to be specific. "Not very radioactive at all in the beginning, it became more and more so. There are some leaks that one knows are inevitable and foreseeable. But there have been hundreds that were not foreseen." And he tells how one day, some contaminated water gushed out as steam in the building. There was an alarm and evacuation, of course. But some 10 personnel heard nothing. They suffered only slight contamination. "One gets used to it. But how is one to know? The dosimeter film is sent off every month, but it doesn't come back until a month later." "This power plant that they have boasted about so much to us," says a shop steward, "one discovers some suspicious things in it." They talk like disappointed lovers.

### The Heart of the Beast

For there has been shock. Arnaud, 31, died in a "red zone" in the reactor building. Asphyxiated by nitrogen, on 10 November 1979. He was working on a steam-generator tube of Bugey III. He died in the heart of the power plant.

A windowed door controlled directly from the control room and an air lock under 6 tons of vacuum open onto the holy of holies, the fire of Vulcan: the calandria that nurses along the fission of the enriched-uranium cores, flanked by its three steam generators. "No one is at ease from the time he goes into the reactor building. The depressurization causes a kind of vertigo. When the air lock bangs closed behind us, we are thrown out of the world." Paul tells: "The noise, the pulsings are continual, very strong. I get the feeling of being at the heart of the beast, of being enclosed in it. In the end, the noises come together to make a single one, that of the core, of a gigantic heart that beats." Etienne, when he went into it for the first time, did not come back out. "I'm a fanatic for comic strips, for science fiction. When I found myself in that white, unheard-of atmosphere, I said to myself, 'it's science fiction I'm in, far more than a comic strip.'"

But here is what Alain Ginestet explains--he is a CFTD [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] shop steward who is somewhat in a minority but represents a rather general attitude, even among the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] members of Bugey: "There are 900 EDF agents, and their average age is 27 or 28. Including the outside companies, there are 1,200 of us. While some have been trained by EDF, there have been others, because of the rapidity of the projects, hired with the CAP [Professional Qualification Certificate] only, with a practical-training phase at the power plant. At the beginning, on Bugey I, no one was afraid. A small team functioned, we were really producers of electricity."

What has changed today? The necessities of production, they reply. An example: at the beginning, authorization by the chief of the power plant was needed in order to go into the reactor building, but today, only the shift chief's authorization is enough; why? "To go faster, perhaps?" Furthermore, hiring is done with might and main. Worse, if an EDF agent balks at



a job assignment, there is a threat to "bring the private sector in," the outside firms. These companies do general-services work: cleaning 500 kilos of linen daily, handling fuels, the cement plant where the wastes are sealed. Under conditions that are not always ideal. Jean-Louis, who is also a lover of the nuclear: "In the packaging of the wastes, there is what is called a gamma beacon (an alarm) that goes off when a certain radiation threshold is reached. Some outside-company types were working there. They took off the 'strap'--in other words, they disconnected the beacon and continued."

They feel ill at ease in this new environment, which recalls the production requirements of an ordinary plant. Even Marc, the most fascinated, has less confidence today. A widespread feeling: they are beginning to fear this power plant that they are discovering as it operates.

"They are never finished with safety," a worker explains. A funny problem. There is never enough of it. But at the same time, too much. Working to protect the power plant, to protect oneself, to strengthen safety, to double it, triple it: the spiral is an infernal one. The trade unions have raised the problem at all the nuclear sites. At Bugey, a building under construction will soon house two computers. These will be able to record, minute by minute, all the movements of the personnel who have magnetic cards. The computer will do better than a spy. Useful, perhaps, but it makes one neurotic. "Is this a nuclear power plant or a penitentiary?" asks the CFDT. Paradoxes of the working conditions in ultrasophisticated installations; contradictions of the nuclear-power field. "They have dirtied nuclear power," concludes Marc, "but I am dead set and I love this power plant."

### Garbage Can

"Well, now, the garbage cans, are they going OK?" "Hey, garbage man! Are you having another drink?" The guests at the nocturnal banquet are keeping up form and half-seriously, halfjokingly, question one of the most prominent CFDT militants at La Hague. La Hague, hundreds of kilometers from Bugey, is the terminal point of the nuclear chain. The spent fuels, the rods extracted from the cores of the power plants end up at La Hague. Uranium, plutonium and fission products--americium, tritium, strontium, and still others--are stored, separated, processed.

If it were not for its double enclosure of barbed wire, its chevaux-de-frise backed up by a magnetic field, the patrol jeeps and the guard dogs, "France's nuclear garbage can" might well seem to be the cleanest and brightest plant in all of the nation's industry. Planted in the middle of moorland, it is not encumbered with the gigantic structures of a power plant. It is content with discreet white buildings and a single chimney--long and tall, it is true, like a lighthouse, and it serves today as a sea-mark for the navigators who venture between the headland of Cotentin and the island of Aurigny.

## An Adventure

La Hague, which muddled through its first reprocessing tests in 1965, tells us a story--that of the nuclear pioneers who believed in it and then were disappointed and sometimes disheartened. Let us hear their story told in several voices, that of the "old-timers" and of the CFDT militants.<sup>1</sup> Once upon a time... "Earlier, much earlier, when we carried out the first tests, we had the feeling of living a fantastic adventure, an adventure of experimentation, of production." At the time, the plant belonged to the Atomic Energy Commission, symbol of the new technologies and of the energy of tomorrow. "We felt entrusted with a scientific mission, and in a sense, a patriotic one. We were officials acting for the state. Even if the work was difficult, we did not hesitate to throw ourselves into it feet first." Very quickly, they passed over into the land of gentlemen, technicians, savants. AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] workers? Well, then! The AEC world is a world apart, clothed all in white, and people go to work there in business suits, tie, attache case in hand, "even if one only has one's lunch in it." To this has been added the aura of mystery of work done under military secrecy, and what one knows, one guards jealously in one's heart.

Confidence and consciences began to waver when, 5 years ago, the La Hague management announced that the plant was going to go under the control of a private system, the COGEMA [Nuclear Materials General Company].<sup>2</sup> Coincidence of two phenomena: when the plant aged--and God knows that the installations age fast!--the workers felt that the new status was going to make La Hague no longer a tool for experimentation but a production tool in the service of private interests. They went on strike, and the curtain was raised on the mystery of nuclear work. The most intimate distresses welled up: "What is the meaning of my work?" asked Laurent at the time of the strike. "I'm at the plutonium station. I neither touch nor feel the material. In the last analysis, what do I produce? Nothing. Waste matter." "How can you expect to blossom in a garbage can?" asked another. In the villages in the evening, they talked about their fears that were unspoken before the strike. More and more incidents, in the casing-removal facility especially, where the metal "skin" is taken off the rods. They spoke of claustrophobia: that of an employee who started howling in his "shell," a box in which one is totally enclosed for contamination measurements. They confessed their shame: "You would feel pestiferous," tells a shop steward, "when, if you were contaminated, you had to take the van equipped with bottles for urine and stool analyses to bring back the next day." Especially,

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1. The CFDT represented 60 percent of the trade unionists at La Hague; then came the FO [Workers Force] with 25 percent for college I (the CGT with a little less than 10 percent). For college II (engineers and cadres), the CGT had 80 percent of the votes.

2. The transition from the AEC to COGEMA took place on 19 January 1967. At the end of June, the personnel transfer was carried out for the La Hague plant. The stock belongs 100 percent to the AEC, but the plant is now regulated by the private-sector rules.

they talked about the increasingly numerous interventions, that they had to carry out in the complete outfit, the "shaddock," the transparent vinyl uniform, a real diving-suit, in which one breathes cut off from the world, deaf except for the beating of one's heart. "By the time the job was completed, one might have lost 1 or 2 kilos from sweating so much." Against what they called at the time "the banalization of the nuclear," "the loss of identity," "the constantly reduced margins of safety," they started up the first public debate on the work in the atomic installations at the Cherbourg court and produced a remarkable film, "Condemned to Succeed," which was seen by well over 200,000 people. Nevertheless, the AEC became COGEMA.

"We are no more than metalworkers now," they say today, bitter and disappointed, the old-timers of La Hague and of the Atomic Energy Commission. "The flavor of scientific adventure is gone, the dream of well-being and technological progress has ended. La Hague is just another plant like any other."

### Two Generations

COGEMA, in 3 years, has hired some 400 young people. As 1980 begins, the plant has nearly 1,350 workers. With the crisis, hiring was easy. But the break with the preceding generation has been completed. The young workers, attracted mainly by pay higher than that at Cherbourg (3,500 francs is the lowest wage, plus about 1,000 francs if one works at a station), have quickly discovered that at bottom, they are workers like the others. Even a little less presentable. Job security, and a widespread awareness that in any case, one can do nothing: a sort of "I don't care"-ism has taken root in the plant. "The work is dirty," say the young people. "But in the silence of polished, bright workplaces, one does not notice it. So then . . ." From certain control rooms, especially the one for fission products, one can see the sea at the foot of the cliffs. Two generations coexist at La Hague. The "old-timers," disillusioned, think that their plant will never function: "It was," one of them says, "a formula-1 prototype, and they wanted to make a truck out of it." The young people say "bof!"

Andre, 23: "My policy is like the ostrich; I made a choice, they hired me. I am paid for doing routine work. If there is an incident, I go into action very fast, but I do so out of solidarity with my working buddies. I work on plutonium, but I forbid myself to have any ideas. No matter how it has happened, we are stuck; it is not a time for being philosophical."

Maurice: "We look to our comfort, and we are happy to earn our money. As for me, I'm rolling up my sleeves and building my house. Now as for nuclear power! I don't want to spend my time being afraid." And a veritable frenzy of puttering about, sports activities--bicycling, tennis, walking, fishing--has seized the people of La Hague. "When there were leaks, in November and December, they were taken jokingly," say a good many young people ironically, and they tell themselves that some day they may see worse.

However, they agree unanimously, the magnetic cards, the cameras, a second enclosure inside the site, around the nuclear buildings, and the CRS [Republican Security Companies (State Mobile Police)] for each fuel lot--all this will do a lot. But, Maurice concludes, "the main thing is not to think too much."

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## RELOCATION OF MINISTRIES PLANNED

Athens 1 KATHIMERINI in Greek 29 Mar 80 pp 1, 3

[Text] Within 5 years the relocation of the ministries from the center of Athens will be completed with new buildings constructed in Kalogreza, Lykourisi, Kholargos, etc. At a meeting yesterday held under the chairmanship of the premier at the headquarters of the Public Land Company (the cost of the new buildings will be covered by utilizing the state-owned real property) the participants evaluated the results of the architectural competition held a few months ago for the presentation of ideas on general solutions for the ministerial buildings. Eleven proposals were submitted in the competition, each of which dealt with the buildings of all nine ministries.

The Evaluating Committee after 12 meetings selected six proposals which received the compensation provided in the original announcement. At the meeting, the participants agreed that the six studies chosen by the Evaluating Committee present interesting architectural ideas and proposals for administrative organization as well as city planning, traffic arrangements, and general observations which reflect the spirit and the objective of the competition and which will be very useful in formulating the future decisions for the completion of the project.

The premier gave instructions to the Public Land Company to evaluate the proposed solutions, to choose the most successful, to reach a composite plan (he kept his reservations as to the form of the buildings) and to move further with the assignment of the final studies by inviting the expression of interest.

Following the meeting, the premier visited the hall with the exhibit of the various proposals as represented by the models and asked for additional information. The exhibit at the headquarters of the Public Land Company (Alexandras Avenue 158A, 2nd floor) will remain open to the public until 23 April (0900 to 1400 hours).

## The Meeting

The meeting was attended by the Ministers of Finance Ath. Kanellopoulos, Public Works Zardinidis, Zoning, Housing and Environment Manos, Deputy



Finance Minister Markovos, Finance Ministry Secretary General Kalkanis, the president and the chief executive of the Public Land Company, Ir. Papakostas and G. Kandyllis, the premier's technical advisor, Loukas Kyriakopoulos, and Public Land Company legal advisor Vardakos.

An area of approximately 30 stremmas has been selected in Kalogreza for the new buildings of the Ministries of Coordination, Finance and Commerce. An area of 96 stremmas has been selected in Lykourisi for the Ministry of Agriculture, with an alternative site in Kalogreza. A 48-stremma area has been selected in Kholargos across from the general headquarters of the Ministry of National Defense. An 11-stremma site for the Ministry of Labor has been selected in N. Faliron and approximately 12 stremmas have been selected on Alexandras Ave. for the Ministry of Justice next to the new court mansion.

The Ministries of National Education and Religions, Interior and Culture and Science will be relocated in the Red Cross building on Mesogeion Avenue. The building will be accordingly adjusted and completed. The Ministry of Public Order and the headquarters of the Security Corps will be housed in buildings to be constructed on a site in which the Gendarmery School is already located. The Ministry of Merchant Marine will be located in Piraeus and the Ministry to the Premier will be in the Queen Sofia Ave. building, next to the Benakis Museum.

#### A Significant Program

Following the meeting, Premier Karamanlis replied to questions from the press:

"This is a very significant program since at the first stage we will have a listing of all real estate owned by the state, which so far is unknown and because it is unknown it is being usurped. This is the mission of the Public Land Company.

"During the second stage we will develop the full potential of this real estate whose value is estimated in hundreds of billions of drachmas. With this utilization, the Greek state will find, after 150 years, a home.

"There is a thought to build the ministries in Athens and to build in the capital of each nome a big government building which will house all the state agencies.

"I repeat that all this can be accomplished by selling this real estate which we will protect against usurpers and which will be utilized to its full potential. In this sense we regard this as a significant problem."

Replying to a question as to the time this entire program for the construction of the new ministries will be completed, the premier said:



"The plan is in its preliminary stage. We are gathering ideas to decide what shape we will give to those buildings. The Public Land Company has already collected from the various ministries data concerning their housing needs. On the basis of these data, the preliminary studies are being made and proposals have been made which in my opinion are not esthetically satisfactory. In any event, the implementation of this program has already started."

#### The Development of Volos

The technical planner has delivered to the Ministry of Zoning, Housing and Environment the study for the complementary development of Volos and Larissa as provided by the zoning plan of Greece.

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## FINANCE MINISTRY REPORTS BUDGET SURPLUS

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 1 Apr 80 p 9

[Text] The Finance Ministry reports that the 1979 regular budget which will end on 30 April will show total revenues of 314,300 million drachmas and expenditures of 313,500 million, leaving a positive balance of 800 million drachmas. Obviously, the report was made public as a response to the Center for Planning and Economic Research [KEPE] report which says with regard to the development of our public finances: According to the existing indications, the early estimates that the financial deficit would be cut down were not borne out and that it is most likely that the actual budget will not realize a surplus. All in all, the 1979 deficit of the state budget increased, and according to recent estimates it will reach approximately 10 billion drachmas.

The statement of the Finance Ministry is as follows:

1. The data already at hand, data which are, of course, preliminary in nature since the 1979 budget is still being implemented according to public budgeting regulations, show that the results are satisfactory in spite of the great economic and fiscal difficulties facing the country and the measures subsequently taken which led to an increase of expenditures and a decrease in revenues. More specifically:

During the revision of the 1979 budget, which was done in the context of the effort to deal with the energy crisis, the total of projected revenues of the regular budget was limited to 315 billion drachmas.

According to the data collected so far, total expenditures will reach 314,300 million drachmas; they will be, in other words, only 0.02 percent below the revised projections.

Let it be noted that certain revenues from customs duties were slowly collected because of extensions and special measures on imports, while another 3,700 million drachmas are being collected with delays because of the strikes and the delays in mailing the 1979 tax returns.

2. The 1979 expenditures will finally come to 313,500 million drachmas. So there will be a net surplus of 800 million.

3. It is noted that the entire sum of 9,400 million drachmas is being spent to meet the projected deficit in the consumer goods account. As is known, this is the first time in recent years that the budget will contribute a significant amount to cover the deficit of the consumer goods account.

4. To evaluate the results of the 1979 budget as implemented, it is necessary to take into account the following:

a. The measures taken during the year to protect the balance of payments and to deal with the budget resulted in a serious reduction of the projected revenues from import duties. The reduction exceeded 10 billion drachmas and was partially offset through the revenues from other sources.

b. The same unexpected events resulted in the unforeseen increase of certain expenditures.

#### The Unforeseen

During the implementation of the 1979 budget, certain expenditures exceeded those projected because of unexpected emergencies. Those expenditures included:

1. The interest payments on notes of the public investments budget due to the rise in interest rates since 1 July 1979. The additional cost came to 4,500 million drachmas.

2. The return of taxes and customs duties primarily because of the increase in exports.

3. The government grants to state hospitals and other institutions, due to the increases in salaries and wages and the implementation of the new grade system.

4. The expenditures for the procurement of fuel due to the rise in their price.

5. The regranting of the 1,000-drachma temporary allowance to civilian and military employees of the state.

6. The expenditures for the implementation of new laws and decrees.

These unforeseen expenditures and increases were met thanks to financial measures designed to reduce credits for less urgent needs at levels which were lower than the initial projections, and to limit the transfer of credits to only absolutely necessary cases and also by extending the freeze on new hirings.

These measures secured surpluses of approximately 9,500 million drachmas which together with the 6,500 million drachmas reserves, or a total of 16,000 million drachmas, covered fully the unforeseen expenditures and increases mentioned in the foregoing as well as the delay in the collection of certain revenues.

Holding back these expenditures under the existing conditions was the result of systematic and painful efforts, a fact which constitutes a real achievement of our fiscal policy.

7520  
CSC:4908

## IESPE'S SEMINAR ON SOUTH RECOMMENDS LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

Rome L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO in Italian 17-18 Mar 80 p 8

[Article: "Conclusions of a Convention on the Mezzogiorno and the EEC"]

[Text] Naples, 17 March. A convention in Naples sponsored by the European Institute of Political and Economic Studies [IESPE] dealing with the theme "Mezzogiorno, EEC and Mediterranean" ended with the approval of a document which underlined four courses of action the Italian effort in the South must adopt in the next few years: 1) Focus on national social and economic policy with the aim of development in the Mezzogiorno; 2) Review of the policy on incentives; 3) Rationalization of the production sector; 4) Development of a tertiary sector, efficient and technologically advanced.

Regarding the first point, the document pointed out that before any extraordinary action could be undertaken, the economic, social and educational policies of transportation, health and others address the target of the Mezzogiorno, not only by the Italian government, but also by the European community. The test bench of this objective consists of the laws of industrial reconversion and the use of energy originating from the Algerian pipeline.

With regard to the incentives policy, mention was made in the document that that policy, despite positive results in the past, is beginning to witness internal corrosive effects which vitiate the efficiency of undertakings in the South. In any case, as is stated in the document, financial incentives will have to be less broad but at the same time more flexible and, above all, more rapid.

Regarding rationalization of the production sector, the document states that the broadening contact of community countries with Mediterranean countries places renewed urgency on the problem of rationalization of agriculture in the South. Another problem to be considered is the indefinite bolstering of nonviable enterprises which, in the long run results in investment standstills and the egress from the market of a southern industry.

Finally, on the subject of an efficient tertiary sector, the document notes that employment in the South will not be absorbed by agriculture, which itself will experience a manpower shortage. Also industry, however, will not be able to increase very much in manpower totals if it has as its goal rationalization and increased efficiency. The outlet for employment in the South will be in the services sector.

9209

CSO: 3104



## FLM PLANS NEW STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH

Palermo GIORNALE DI SICILIA in Italian 11 Mar 80 p 14

[Article: "New Initiatives in Favor of the South"]

[Text] Rome. FLM [Federation of Metalworkers] is in the process of "thinking over" its strategy for the South. The opportunity for this was provided by a meeting which began yesterday at Ariccia, dealing with claims, which was called in the wake of decisions taken at Bologna. The meeting, which was opened with a speech by the national secretary Antonio Letterieri had as its theme "Claim Policy and the Mezzogiorno."

The first "revision" deals with the first stage of contracts: they are no longer directed to large enterprises alone, (and thus no more disputes with only large companies) but also directed to small and medium-sized enterprises. The FLM plans to initiate procedures on about 100 labor claims with as many enterprises, dealing with investments in the Mezzogiorno.

Furthermore, it is necessary to shed light on the subject of clandestine labor, which more often than not is the only employment available in the South. This shall allow this part of the workers' class to be heard and take on a commitment for the struggle to assure some guarantees for these laborers. In this aspect, admitted Lettieri, the labor union "has fallen far behind."

Another area for further action is youth employment: in the South the number of young unemployed is three times that of the North. Lettieri calculated that with 1,500 billion lire, that is to say a social expenditure equal to 0.5 percent of the gross national product, 500,000 young persons could be given work. This in turn could be followed by the proposal to create an agency whose single initial task would be to balance youth unemployment in the South with that of other regions.

This agency, which should work in concert with southern regions, should be able to offer socially useful work projects or plans for professional training. With regard to integrative contractual procedures (which is about ready to "take off"), it can be said that it shall become part and

parcel of the industrial policy of the Mezzogiorno. Using this yardstick, the FLM will measure its "flexibility" or, as Lettieri has stated: "The owners (of the means of production) must be aware that our actions regarding schedules, overtime and shiftwork shall be rigorously in consonance with that theme which encourages the industrial development of the Mezzogiorno." This will mean increased flexibility at the cost of the industrial means of production being transferred to the South, coupled though, with "unhiding opposition" to "any unconditional request of flexibility."

The policy on salaries, on the other hand, will be based on general levels, influenced by labor confederations which deal with income redistribution. "If we fail on the fiscal front" he stated, "the only other card left to us is the factory salary increase; here, in this case the "chase" not only risks becoming spasmodic, but will surely lose in the long run."

Returning to the Mezzogiorno, the labor union representative pointed out the indispensable objectives necessary to renew policy goals: 1) Qualify public transfers to the Mezzogiorno; 2) Create conditions for the transfer of small and medium enterprises which will entail a radical mutation in the incentives policy, extension of fiscal practices, etc.; 3) Place the Mezzogiorno at the focal point of a new energy policy. Points of reference might be: use of coal, of gas pipelines from Algeria and Tunisia, experimental use of solar energy and examination of the several approaches to the utilization of waters.

9209

CSO: 3104

## OFFICIAL REPORT ON DISSATISFACTION AMONG ARMED FORCES

Milan IL GIORNALE NUOVO in Italian 23 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Guido Azzolini: "Too Many Stirring Up Dissatisfaction Spreading Through the Armed Forces"]

[Text] Present pay level is at the limit of survival. The housing problem, tied to personnel transfer, is of particular concern. Among the legal actions that have most affected discipline is the action taken by air traffic controllers. Discontent manipulated from the outside.

Rome, 22 March--The latest bloody acts perpetrated by the Red Brigades have again given rise to talk of a possible employment of the Armed Forces in peace-keeping duties. The "Report" on the morale of military and civilian personnel in the Armed Forces and on the state of military discipline, compiled by the Defense Staff and published by the IPD [Defense Parliamentary Information] Agency, is almost in agreement with these proposals. The document is merely the text of the annual report that the minister of Defense is obliged to submit to Parliament in compliance with the "Rules of Principle on Military Discipline," that is to say of the law of 11 July 1978, representing a kind of constitutional charter of the Armed Forces. Although it was distributed several days ago, the report has not yet been read or discussed in Parliament.

Therefore, it is interesting to read it not only with regard to a possible emergency use of military personnel, but also to evaluate the effects that the new regulations have produced, in their first year of application, on the military society, in addition to making some of the basic troubles that have been afflicting the institution for too many years now, in the lack of any remedial measures, dramatically evident.

The morale of officers and noncommissioned officers is judged by the document to be "satisfactory on the whole." Nevertheless, "although it is possible to make a substantially positive evaluation with regard to Army and Navy officers, concerning Air Force officers symptoms of a more serious deterioration are observed, ascribable not solely to a widespread, general dissatisfaction over the unsuccessful solution of problems of regulations and economic problems."

## Mass Exodus

Then, the report points out that the new generations of officers and non-commissioned officers "are being led more and more toward positions of criticism with regard to the military high command, because of the long, disappointing wait for an adequate solution to problems basically important to their grades." This discontent "is being manipulated considerably from outside the Armed Forces for various purposes and with emphasis that at times takes on the nature of an out-and-out urging to disobedience."

What are the motives and effects of this discontent? First of all, stipends. "The present pay level," the report reads, "is at the limit of survival for families in which the only income is the stipend of the military person." This gives rise to the serious, widespread phenomenon of requests for release by persons with the highest qualifications. This phenomenon "makes performance of the tasks of the military institution problematic and contributes to generating dissatisfaction, especially among those who, in a constantly increasing number, place a value on the military career in the light of pay alone."

The housing problem, tied to personnel transfer, is of particular concern. By virtue of the law of 18 April 1978, Defense has been able to secure for itself the future availability of 432 apartments all over Italy. "Obviously, in those who are excluded from the benefit there still are conditions of unquestionable hardship, an aggravating circumstance of the particular market situation." Therefore, "transfers are constantly being less well received," also because they often involve the necessary work activity of the wife of the military person.

## "Useless" Conscription

The disciplinary tone of the officers is, however, regarded as "good on the whole." Nevertheless, "some shortcomings have been revealed by newly commissioned reserve officers and by younger noncommissioned officers, especially in the Air Force." The document points out that this stems from the fact that they come from a society in the middle of a crisis of traditional values and very little can be done "in the narrow limits of training courses."

A tendency is observed among the officer personnel to initiate legal action with administrative appeals through the chain of command, or, in the case of air traffic controllers, with very serious behavior entirely abnormal and giving cause for concern. "Among the actions that have had the most severe effect on maintenance of discipline," the report states, "the one carried out by the air traffic controllers must be listed without any doubt. A precedent is involved whose importance can be fully evaluated in perspective only when similar situations may occur on the part of other categories of military personnel."

In the conclusion of the part devoted to officers, the document points out that "it would be a mistake" to continue to count on the sense of duty and discipline of officers "without taking truly definite action" with regard to pay and housing and concerning the problem of air traffic controllers.

According to the report, the morale of the troops is "satisfactory on the whole." In this case, too, however, there are some "buts." "A deep-rooted conviction on the uselessness of armed service is still in the minds of conscripts. The widespread lack of ethical-social values resulting from the education obtained in the family and at school, and propaganda, often sly and subtle, to which young persons are being subjected through the mass media, are causing that conviction.

But that is not all. The document goes on to state that "the widespread use of drugs and tranquilizers has an effect on the morale of the troops." After stating that a recent, limited and circumscribed phenomenon is involved, the report implies that this is favored by one of the innovations made with the law "of principle," the innovation that enables soldiers to wear civilian clothes. "A revision of the rules on the use of civilian clothes during military service, it is proposed, might increase the possibility of intervention and inspection."

Concerning the use of civilian clothes, farther on the document expresses other serious observations, however. "It must be pointed out that, after 2 years of application of the provision, that liberalization has had definitely negative repercussions both with regard to security and to behavior and relations with the civilian community. In fact, first of all, inspection is very difficult, especially on return from off duty.

In this connection, the fact cannot be ruled out that possible subversive elements who might want to make attacks within military facilities might have access to them mingled with soldiers in civvies. In the second place, the number of military personnel put on report for improper behavior off duty and of military persons involved in acts of rowdiness has increased. For those reasons, a number of mayors of smaller communities have hoped for reestablishment of wearing the uniform. Thirdly, in view of the closeness of the duty station to the place of origin (another recent provision grants this possibility to conscripts, editor's note), the establishment or maintenance of contacts between drug pushers and users and, in general, with common criminals is facilitated."

After mentioning the morale of civilian personnel and of personnel on leave, the report makes some bitter remarks: "Relations between the Armed Forces and the country are a one-way street." Few civilians participate in military demonstrations. Moreover, they are "constantly being pushed toward positions of disinvolvement with regard to the Armed Forces," which "feel that they are being subjected to a process of neglect," of being the target of accusations and criticisms "against which they prove to be practically defenseless."

The remarks already made are repeated briefly in the conclusions and the need is pointed out for reevaluating military service, also so that the recruiting of officers to whom the training of young conscripts is entrusted, will prove to be qualitatively better. A return is made to the topic, when the serious harm done by the case of the air traffic controllers was emphasized: "It should not be underestimated," the report concludes, "that decisions made in this connection must take due account of the side effects on other categories of personnel, to avoid the conviction that the easiest course for achieving satisfaction of the individual's aspirations with regard to pay and regulation consists in giving up military status."

10,042

CSO: 3104



## DEFENSE RESEARCH STUDIES INSTITUTE CREATED IN ROME

Milan IL GORNALE NUOVO in Italian 22 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Guido Azzolini: "Let Us Study NATO's Problems a Little"]

[Text] The center's activity is inaugurated with a meeting. The new organization will concern itself with military policy and will facilitate information between the Armed Forces, members of Parliament, political parties and public opinion. "Our commitments to other countries cannot be questioned."

Rome, 21 March--Something similar to the famous International Institute for Strategic Studies, in London, or the equally well-known Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, has been established in Italy. It is a question of ISTRID [Defense Research Studies Institute], which made its debut today with a meeting that will last 2 days, held in the small hall of the Chamber of Deputies.

The aims of the association were presented by its president, Paolo Battino Vittorelli, of the PSI [Italian Socialist Party], sponsor of the initiative, together with his colleagues Zamberletti (DC [Christian Democratic Party]), D'Alessio (PCI [Italian Communist Party]) and Bandiera (PRI [Italian Republican Party]), which, -- as Vittorelli stated -- nevertheless finds "political forces ranging from the Italian Liberal Party to the Proletarian Unity Party, including the PSDI [Italian Social Democratic Party] and the independent leftists in agreement."

Vittorelli said that ISTRID has no aims other than cultural and that, even in the different political point of view on various military problems, all the participants in the research that will be promoted start from "a minimum understanding on the bases on which our international policy rests, based on respect for the pacts binding us to other countries, like the ones pertaining to the Atlantic Alliance and to the European Economic Community." And he added that none of the democratic forces present in the meeting questions adherence to that policy, "not only on the basis of the principle that pacts are to be observed, but also on the basis of

considerations of a strictly political nature." They all believe that our defense is better ensured in this way, rather than by means of an armed or passive neutrality, accompanied by Italy's unilateral disarmament. Disarmament -- this is the principle common to ISTRID -- can only be balanced and supervised.

Therefore, once the field had been cleared of any question on the spirit of the initiative, Vittorelli mentioned the objectives of the institute. They range from research on military spending, the defense budgets of the leading nations and military planning, to a study of military expenditures in the Third World and to the position of the armed forces in the framework of the state structures of those countries; from an analysis of "local conflicts" to the military system of the leading nations, to a summary of armaments and to the status of mutual balances.

Although these are the long-range objectives of the institute's research, there are other shorter range objectives concerning our own military policy. In this field, ISTRID proposes to attain a result hoped for by all, but apparently difficult -- in part because of historical reasons -- to attain: facilitating and encouraging an exchange of information between the Armed Forces, political organizations, government agencies and parliamentary bodies, between public opinion and the industrial machinery of Defense.

For this purpose, the institute will make use primarily of a specialized press agency, the IPD [Defense Parliamentary Information] agency, which will handle publication of the research work of ISTRID, performed by scholars and specialists, in addition to having all the parliamentary documents pertaining to subjects of a military nature printed, as has already been happening for several months.

To go more directly into the merit of the work begun this morning, two reports were presented this morning on the theme of the meeting ("Defense Programming in the Framework of a Policy of Security, Detente and Disarmament"). The first one was by Prof Claudio Schwarzenberg on the "Legal-Administrative System of Defense in Italy." The other one was on "Economic Programming, Defense Planning, Reform of the Armed Forces," by Prof Pietro Armani. In the afternoon session, in addition to speeches by the chairman of the Senate Defense Committee, Dante Schietroma, and by the Army chief of staff, General Rambaldi, some messages were read and some of the guests were heard.

The speech by the Defense chief of staff, VADM Giovanni Torrisi, took on particular importance among the speeches made during the entire day. He made a survey of Italy's military situation, starting with the beginning of the 1970's, when a structural revision of the Armed Forces was decided on, in connection with the scarcity of funds available, for the purpose of creating an instrument limited in size but effective. Torrisi said that, by means of the three 1975 promotional laws, "the operational component of

the Armed Forces attained a good degree of consolidation and foreseeably should not have to undergo appreciable modifications in the future." They are now based on 24 brigades, about 105,000 tons of combatant ships and 40 aircraft groups.

The admiral said that, at present, work is being done to reorganize the top-level military commands and to revise the system of peripheral territorial organization by setting up a "reform of military expenditure" that proposes to specify measures "suitable for making possible a more rational utilization of financial resources by reviewing the present regulations especially on contractual and inspection procedures."

Torrise pointed out, however, that the basis for any renovation is an improvement of the status of military personnel. "The legitimate expectations of all the personnel must be satisfied. Their moral and material conditions have a decisive effect on the military instrument as a whole. If those conditions are not kept at an adequate degree -- the chief of staff concluded -- all the many, costly steps begun in the functional sector would be made sterile."

10,042

CSO: 3104

## LACK OF PLANNING JEOPARDIZES ALGERIAN GAS SUPPLIES

## Proposals on Gas Use

Naples IL MATTINO in Italian 25 Mar 80 p 11

[Article by Gaetano Trosino: "In 1 Year Algerian Gas Will Arrive"]

[Text] Naples--The gas pipeline which will carry Algerian gas to Italy will reach Campania by 1981. Will the region of Campania, by that date, be able to field the necessary hardware (such as a regional distribution network) and to set up an administration able to service it? Or will an energy product, clean and inexpensive, with economic and ecological benefits be left unused because of the region's tardiness?

Two proposals on the use of gas in Campania for civil and industrial use have been set forth: the regional group of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) announced a bill (which has already been made public and which proposes a company whose capital is drawn for the most part from the region). The Christian Democratic (DC) proposal consisted of an initiative presented to the council.

In order to impart "correct data" on the Christian Democratic proposal, the DC section head Gaspare Russo, with councilor Mormile, called for a press conference during which he said that "Campania has been careful and has acted judiciously in the matter of gas usage. Disagreeing with the Communists, he called attention to time lags by the appointed commission in implementing the initiatives adopted by the Sector Board and "the bare-faced contradictions in the positions taken by the Communists."

He gave a reminder that Campania was the first Italian region to give its consent on the gas pipeline for Algerian petroleum and that the board had, as far back as March 1979, presented the "regional gas program," approved by the council as late as December 1979, going so far as even to get a favorable vote from the PCI. The program was coupled with an order of the day, requesting a series of guarantees.

The DC group leader Russo accused the Communists of attempting a politically influenced maneuver in order to influence upcoming elections by announcing their intentions on the gas matter. He went on to say that the PCI proposal, as it now stands, would push back the solution of the problem.

He cited two examples: a company sustained with mostly regional capital--as proposed by the PCI--following the Merrell episode and the governments assured rejection, could not get off the ground. The nomination of the company's president on the part of the council would create further confusion.

The DC proposal, open to suggestions from other groups, according to Russo, could have a less complex, more streamlined framework.

The DC project proposes to expand the supply and use of the civil, industrial and agricultural resources in particular with regard to gas, and in moving toward that goal, plans to "institute a fund for use by consortiums of industrial groups in Campania to form a stock company whose tasks would entail: planning, building and management of a gas pipeline network, connected to the present gas pipeline and eventually connected with the main ENI-SNAM [National Hydrocarbons Agency - National Gas Pipeline Company] for the utilization of Algerian gas."

It involves therefore a company whose stock, in large part is owned publicly, with 51 percent owned by the region. (In addition to consortiums, communes and chambers of commerce may also own shares.) This initiative will create further opportunities for employment. It is difficult at the present to predict the number and type of employees needed, but Russo indicated there might be about 1,000 positions open.

With regard to the DC's initiative bearing any fruit before the expiration of the Regional Council's term of office, the Christian Democratic group leader was very cautious. He did, however, underline the DC's political desire to pass the bill during the present legislative session.

#### Regional Plan Needed

Naples IL MATTINO in Italian 25 Mar 80 p 11

[Article by Dino De Lorenzis: "SNAM is Urgently Requesting a Regional Plan"]

[Text] Naples--Campania is taking big risks. It might miss the bus to the Algerian market place if it does not prepare, very urgently, the regional energy plan, which, prepared by the region, must outline for SNAM (the ENI company tasked with distribution) the projected needs and the pipeline network to be set up. The dramatic appeal came to SNAM through Dr Antonio Maiorano (distribution coordinator for the center-south) during a meeting held last night at the Unione Industriali, organized by the president of the youth group, Engineer Isidoro Balsani. The gas pipeline will arrive quite soon in our area and "will bypass you unless we receive your requests in a timely manner" said Maiorano.

Campania will be in serious trouble because, as Engineer Balsamo pointed out, at least for the near future the only source of energy other than oil is gas, but "Without a plan, we run the risk of having to do without it." And Campania has very little time to spare. There are two regional bills that deal with the matter, a Christian Democratic and a Communist one, and with council elections just behind the corner we are truly running the risk of arriving late. This does not take into account the fact that SNAM has already examined both bills and according to the company, both bills have a factor in common which it finds very disturbing. "Be it the Communists or the Christian Democrats" stated SNAM officials, "they are both that we give up our assigned institutional tasks."

Up to the present, SNAM has engineered 500 industrial links in the Mezzogiorno, 150 of which are in Campania, resulting in the distribution of about 13 million cubic meters daily in our region. For civil use, there are 8 linked communes, one of which is Naples. There are 10 more in the process of being connected, to include the commune of Avellino. At the present there exist resupply difficulties because Libya often shuts off its distribution and because during winter there is a gas shortage in the Soviet Union due to pipeline "freezes." With the Algerian pipeline, the product will be readily available and SNAM intends to earmark a large part of the 12 billion cubic meters for the Mezzogiorno. However, the regions must let us know their plans. If all is in order, we will be able to bring gas down to the commune level. From there, the internal network must be built at the expense of the commune or of a municipal agency, as is the case in Naples, or at the expense of a private company if the commune wishes to manage things in such a manner.

This, in some ways is the argument used by companies in the North when they say let the gas arrive first and then we will move south and not the other way around. The game is wide open, but we must hurry. Sicily has told ENI that 30 percent of the Algerian gas is to remain on the island. Soon the contract with Holland for 6 billion cubic meters which arrive from "the industrial triangle" will terminate. If the southern regions do not get a move on, there will be only 3 billion cubic meters left for the whole of the Mezzogiorno. This is an absolutely insufficient amount.

2269

CSO: 1104



## CRUDE OIL DEFICIT OVER 5 MILLION TONS

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 22 Mar 80 p 22

[Text] After Libya's decision to reduce production, we shall have to turn to other markets. We have a preferential agreement with Tripoli, but it is not certain it will be respected.

After our sigh of relief of a few weeks ago, the Italian oil "cavity" is again becoming a source of worry due to Libya's decision to reduce its production by 20 percent; for Italy this means a minor secondary supply of 2.25 million tons; this is not much compared with approximately 105 million tons of consumption which are anticipated for the current year; but nevertheless, it will force our country to turn to other markets. In reality, in view of the anticipated deficit of 3 million tons for the entire year, we arrive at a total lack of availability of 5.25 million tons.

With regard to our country, in 1979 we imported 15 million tons of crude oil from Libya (13.6 percent of our overall imports) of which 7.5 million tons were produced by AGIP [National Italian Oil Company], the only Italian oil company producing in Libya. The other principal importers were Montedison, Mobil, Garrone, API [Italian Oil Company], SIR [Rovelli Industrial Company], Total and Saras.

Moreover, Libya's decision to cut its oil production by 20 percent will affect not only Italy but also many other European countries and the United States. Thus, there will be a lesser availability on international markets of about 20 million tons of Libyan crude, a "light" oil of excellent quality particularly suitable for obtaining benzene and Diesel fuels.

Libya, ranked eighth among world producers and fifth among the OPEC nations, produces about 100 million tons of crude oil per year (a quantity almost equal to Italy's entire requirements). In 1978 it exported 92.5 million tons, of which about 42 percent went to the United States and about 43 percent to Europe. Among the importing producing countries, Italy ranks first, importing about 15 million tons and the FRG comes second with 14.5 million tons; then come Spain (5.6 million tons), France (3.4 million), the Netherlands (1.5 million) and England (1.3 million).

This could be an expedient for our country; that is, the agreement signed by Minister Stamatì for an increase of 20 million tons of Libyan supply over a period of 4 years. As of now, the agreement has not been carried out. If Libya plans to live up to the agreement (which is considered improbable in some oil circles), Italy would obtain 2 million additional tons of crude per year despite the "cut" of 3 million tons.

With regard to price, Libya's decision should not have any great effect. On the contrary, the Venezuelan Bertì, OPEC chairman, believes that the prices of oil on the world market have not yet hit bottom and that interest in their purchase will drop in the next 2 months. Perhaps that is why Libya, one of OPEC's "hawks," decided to cut production. However, the price question will be discussed in Taif, Saudi Arabia, at OPEC's next meeting on 6 May, and it is probable that they will arrive at a unified price for crude at that meeting.

Meanwhile, it is symptomatic to point out that the OECD has published a report in which it is revealed that Italy ranks last in nuclear energy production. With respect to overall production regardless of source, OECD's figures show the following: Belgium, 21 percent; Sweden, 21 percent; Switzerland, 16.8 percent; France, 15.5 percent; Great Britain, 14.5 percent; United States, 12 percent; Canada, 10 percent; the FRG, 9.8 percent; Finland, 9.1 percent; and Italy, 2.6 percent.

8568

CSO: 3104

## POLL SHOWS 96 PERCENT SEE AFGHANISTAN ATTACK AS PEACE THREAT

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Mar 80 p 24

[Text] Norwegians are overwhelmingly opposed to the Soviet Union's entry into Afghanistan. That goes for 9 out of 10 Norwegians asked, while only 3 out of 100 believe it was done to help the Afghan people. A majority also say that the invasion represents a threat to world peace.

This is the result of the opinion poll done by the Norwegian Poll Institute and Norwegian Market data this week for AFTENPOSTEN. A third main result of the poll, which was taken among about 1,600 persons over 15 years of age, is that 4 out of 10 think defense should be escalated in the western countries after the Soviet incursion. An equal number, on the other hand, are of the opposite opinion.

There is a majority for such escalation among supporters of the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Center Party, while the Labor Party, Liberal Party, and especially the Socialist Left Party sympathizers think escalation should not take place.

The central question in the opinion poll read, "What is your attitude toward the Soviet Union's entry into Afghanistan? Are you opposed to the entry, or do you think it was to help the people of Afghanistan, or have you another opinion of it?" Ninety-one percent were opposed to it, 3 percent answered "To help the people," while 6 percent answered "Don't know."

In another question respondents were asked, "Have you more or less followed the reports and comments in the press and on radio and TV on this incursion?" Here 38 percent answered "very well," 37 percent "quite well," and 20 percent "yes, a little." Four percent of those asked chose the answer "no, not especially," while 1 percent answered "don't know." In that connection it may be mentioned that 94 percent of those who had followed "very well" or "quite well" also were opposed to the Soviet incursion.

Those interviewed were also asked what they thought of the United States'

reaction to the Soviet invasion, especially that grain shipments to the Russians were stopped. A clear majority of 58 percent found that the Americans had reacted appropriately strongly, while 16 percent thought the reactions were too strong.

What will the incursion lead to with respect to world peace? A majority of 57 percent consider the invasion as a "threat to world peace," 63 percent of the women and 51 percent of the men. The alternative answer "a colder climate than now" was chosen by 35 percent of those asked.

The last question read, "Do you think defense in the western countries should be escalated or not escalated after what has happened?" The answers here were divided, 41 percent for each main alternative with 6 percent answering "don't know."

The percentage in doubt in this case is noted as being somewhat greater among women than among men. On the other hand, the poll indicates that women fear, in somewhat greater degree than men, that the Soviet incursion may be a threat to world peace.

8815

CSO: 3108

## LABOR PARTY YOUTH GROUP SPLIT OVER PLAN TO DRILL IN NORTH

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 23 Feb 80 p 2

[Text] Thorbjørn Jagland, leader of the Labor Youth Group, finds himself in the majority in the organization's discussion of the question of starting oil drilling north of the 62nd parallel in 1980. According to the Labor Press Office's information, Jagland made it clear in discussion of the question that he thinks it justifiable to accept test drilling this year. A bare majority of the national committee voted at the meeting in September against test drilling, and that position was confirmed by the central committee Tuesday.

It is pointed out in the resolutions that the national committee set up conditions in 1979 for starting test drillings, which have not been met, and in the central committee's resolution it is stated that the situation has not changed since the national committee's resolution.

It is not only in the central committee and the national committee that opinions are divided on this question. The youth groups in Northern Norway have all opposed oil drilling in 1980. At the annual meeting in Nordland a short time ago there were divided views. In the two youth groups in Trøndelag opinions are also divided, and the AUF [Labor Youth Group] in South Trøndelag resolved at the annual meeting not to take a position on the question. In North Trøndelag the youth group favored drilling on certain conditions, as is the case in Møre and Romsdal.

SS11

CSO: 3108

## CENTRAL BANK CHIEF WOLD: INDUSTRY MUST PRESERVE TRADE COMPETITIVENESS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Feb 80 p 5

[Article by Bjørn H. Tretvoll: "Great Uncertainty Will Characterize 1980"]

[Excerpts] These two statements are characteristic of how two of our foremost economic professional circles appraise the prospects for the current year. The Central Statistical Bureau published its "1979 Economic Outlook" with Odd Aukrust, director of research, as its chief compiler, on Wednesday --the day before Knut Getz Wold, chief director of the Bank of Norway, made his annual speech. These are without doubt the two foremost annual appraisals of the economic policy that has been followed during the year just past.

In that connection we shall look more closely at the future prospects these two documents offer for economic trends, both internationally and here in Norway. It may be that 1980 is the year in which the many pitfalls the Norwegian economy was falling into in 1976 and 1977 are opening up again. But if we set about it in a sensible way, the foundation that was laid in 1979 gives us good chances of a useful economic development in spite of the dark prospects that characterize the international market situation.

#### Good Foundation

After last year's good showing, however, the Norwegian economy is well equipped to meet the problems with which we are faced, according to Getz Wold. But if we are to succeed in keeping up our traditional export of goods in a situation where the markets to which we sell most show little or no growth, it will be of decisive importance for us to achieve a further improvement in the competitive position of Norwegian industry.

A key factor in this connection is what the result of this spring's income settlement will be. Getz Wold underscores the importance of the settlement's being moderate, and points out that the OECD in its report on the Norwegian economy used as a basis a rather modest wage increase of 6.5 percent from 1979 to 1980. But he does not go further into the realism of this.



Without operating with specific cases we get the clear impression that the "Economic Outlook" is far more pessimistic with regard to the possibilities of keeping the increase in wages so low. After the cancellation of the income ceiling there is naturally enough a certain suppressed wage pressure. The many local demands for wage raises during the first few weeks of the year emphasize this. Together with the expectations raised by oil revenues and the contagious effect of wage demands in the parts of industry that have special advantages, this can prevent any improvement in the competitive position of Norwegian industry in the course of 1980.

#### Problems of the 1970's

"Economic Outlook" thus gives a clear warning that we can get into a situation where self-denial in connection with the price and wage ceiling has been in vain. The serious problems that characterized the Norwegian economy in the middle of the 1970's, which finally made it necessary to resort to such drastic measures as price and wage ceilings, can show up again.

The business trend in Norway is somewhat unclear. The demand for our traditional export commodities has shown a declining trend and led to a decline in the traditional exports of goods. The income curve resulted in a decline in purchasing power for large groups in 1979. This in turn has resulted in a weak development of the demand for consumer goods. On the other hand, the desire to invest in industry appears to be increasing in spite of the uncertainty that characterizes business internationally. Parts of industry, furthermore, had a definite improvement in profitability during 1979. This has led to an expected increase in demand for investment goods.

#### Exports Have Passed Their Peak

While it may appear that the traditional exports of goods passed a peak last fall, industrial production, which turned upward at the beginning of 1979, has not yet begun to go downward. There have been signs of stagnation in overall industrial production, but increased investment demand can contribute to making that flattening out a transient phenomenon.

Increased public expenditures together with the coming income settlement can lead to a considerable increase in domestic demand in the course of 1980.

At the beginning of the year the job market was quite tight. A certain slacking off in the growth of the export industry will be counteracted by the growth in domestic demand, so that the job market will probably be tight in most industries this year as well.

#### Big Oil Revenues

The big oil revenues, which increase as the OPEC countries turn the price screws, mean that the fear of problems in our foreign economy is eliminated. But the weak export market for traditional commodities, the trends toward harder times for shipping as well, and a greater growth in the

traditional imports than anticipated will cause the deficit in traditional exchange of goods with foreign countries to be greater in 1980 than in the year before.

We may thus risk getting into a situation with weak international markets, high domestic demand, a tight job market, and a competitive situation that is not good enough to win market sectors abroad. All of these are factors that characterized the picture in the middle of the 1970's and that led to serious problems in the Norwegian economy.

If we accept the radical readjustments in the job market and in the housing pattern that will be the consequences if in such a situation we merely inject the big oil revenues into the economy, this will not really be an especially problematical situation.

But if it seems to us that this is too drastic a price to pay, we must avoid making the same mistake we made before. We must make a choice. We cannot at the same time make use of the big oil revenues and combat the readjustments that such a utilization entails. A competitively strong industry is the most important factor in avoiding such a situation.

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CSO: 3108

## ELECTRICITY COST INCREASE TO EXCEED INFLATION RATE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Mar 80 p 30

[Report by Ottar Julsrud]

[Text] Electricity is getting more expensive. Before 1985 we shall have to pay the costs of developing new power, and this involves an annual price rise of 5 percent in addition to the general inflation. That is one of the measures the public will notice first of all in connection with the government's energy pronouncement presented at the cabinet meeting yesterday. At a press conference Minister of Energy Bjartmar Gjerde emphasized that adequate access to new power is a decisive prerequisite for further development of our society.

If more energy is not obtained, the result will be stagnation in almost all fields, according to the minister of oil and energy. The government's calculations are to the effect that we must have an economic growth of 2.6 percent up to 1985, increasing to 3.1 percent in the 1986-1990 period, to solve important public problems. The long-awaited energy report was compiled with the idea of ensuring the prerequisites for that.

Minister Gjerde maintains, with the support of both Minister of Industry Lars Skytten and Secretary of State Inger Pedersen of the Ministry of Environmental Affairs, that the report constitutes a reasonable compromise between growth and environmental protection. To take care of the former, the government has listed a total of 65 large and small water-power projects that can be dealt with on a concession basis in the coming decade. Among these are Vierødfossen, Brufoss, and Holmsfoss in Vestfold; Dirdal in Vest-Agder; Etneelven and Øvstedalsvassdraget in Hordaland; Stordalsvassdraget in Møre and Romsdal; Øvre Svorka in South Trøndelag, and Imma and Gelgaa in North Trøndelag. In Finnmark there are Mattiselv, Skillefjordelv, and Gednjesvassdraget.

For the entire decade it is estimated that 7 billion extra kilowatt-hours -- 7 Twh -- will be needed, and the list of watercourses, each of which will require separate concession negotiations, make up about twice that amount.

This "planning reserve" increases the freedom of choice as we go along.

Watercourse Protection Plan II, which was also presented in yesterday's cabinet meeting, includes 75 watercourses or parts of watercourses not previously protected.

The result of all this will be a consumption of what is called steady power amounting to 94 Twh in 1985 and increasing to 106 Twh in 1990. This year the supply is 83 Twh. This means that water power will continue to supply about 40 percent of the energy consumed in the future, while oil supplies something more than 50 percent. Gjerde made no secret of the fact that the authorities are faced with a tight program when it comes to dealing with concession applications in the future. A considerable number of things must be done this very year if the scheme is to be kept up.

Not until the latter half of the 1980's will a certain amount of energy from heat-engine generating stations be possible, and that will not be a basic factor. Wave power and other alternative sources will hardly achieve importance, and nuclear power will not be put into operation during this century, according to the announcement.

Of the steady power demand of 94 Twh in 1985, 31 Twh will go to power-intensive industry. In 1990 that will have increased to 34 Twh, the level that was the original goal. That part of industry must also be prepared for price increases, from 5 to 11 øre per kWh. But both ministers emphasized at the press conference that we are still dealing here with a basic support of industrial Norway. No "new Årdal or Sunndal" is in prospect, but necessary power for the existing factories and for modernizations or expansions is possible, even though enlarged limits would have been desirable, the government says. Anyway, it is believed that the rest of our industry will have reasonably good conditions for growth within the energy limits that are now being drawn up.

The price increases are based partly on the idea that there should be a reasonable ratio between different forms of energy, e.g. between electric power and oil, and partly on the idea that the power plants' economy must be strengthened. The principle is also being adopted now that is called long-term limit costs, meaning that we will pay what it costs to develop new power. That will amount to an increase from 15 to 19 øre per kWh.

Other points in the announcement have to do with rationalization in the direction of fewer and larger electric power plants, which will gradually come to work with energy in a broader context than water power alone. The watercourse system is also being considered for a broader spectrum of undertakings. No proposal to separate the State Power Plants from NVE [Norwegian Watercourse and Electricity System] was discussed in the announcement.

## NORWEGIAN POLAR INSTITUTE'S GJELSVIK URGES GREATER ANTARCTIC ROLE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 80 p 37

[Interview with Tore Gjelsvik by Helge Sandvig]

[Text] "It is very difficult today to have responsibility for exploration of Antarctica and not have a regular appropriation for the big tasks waiting to be done in the area. The Antarctica Treaty as we know it today expires in 1991. The next 10 years will be decisive for the future status of the continent and the sea areas around it in international law," Tore Gjelsvik, director of the Norwegian Polar Institute, tells AFTENPOSTEN. He complains strongly that the Norwegian authorities, budgetwise, have again put a stop to the institute's activity on its own in Antarctica, starting with this year. If we are to continue to exert influence on the development in that area and be respected as a country with a claim to areas there in the future, a new and more powerful impetus is needed now in Norwegian polar exploration, he emphasizes.

Tore Gjelsvik mentions in this connection that the Polar Institute proposed sending a Norwegian marine biology expedition to Antarctica back in the fall, as a part of an international cooperative effort to chart the ecological system in the Southern Ice Sea. This project, which has been given the name "Biomass," includes study of the shellfish resources as a very important task.

"A decision should be reached as soon as possible on whether such an expedition will be sent to Antarctica," says Director Gjelsvik. "As far as the shellfish are concerned, there seems to be international agreement to get the development under control as soon as possible. So that we will not see the shellfish stock suffer the same fate as the whale stock. We must accordingly work for a protection system or a legal system that in the long run can regulate this fishing that many countries are already engaged in. The krill [a shellfish] is assumed to be the largest unexploited marine protein reserve in the world. It is believed that from 50 to 70 million tons of krill can be taken annually, and the fishing take of the entire world today totals only about 75 million tons a year.

THIS fact is part of the reason that nations that have lost their fishing grounds because of other nations' expanding their fishing limits are now sending their larger seagoing fishing vessels south to the Antarctic to fish for krill. And the worst that could happen to that polar region, except for uncontrolled oil prospecting, would be an uncontrolled fishing out of the krill. Fishing of this resource (a shrimp-like species of crab about 2 to 3 cm in length) is already underway, and in Antarctica, with fishing fleets from Japan, West Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union among others. It is thus really urgent to get a proper insight into the ecosystem in the Southern Ice Sea and to take measures that can prevent the fishing out of the krill from going so far that it can imperil the regrowth of whale stocks and undermine the foundation of the existence of seals, penguins, fish, and seabirds in the region.

This charting the ecological system in the Southern Ice Sea is a hard job, but on the basis of the krill fishing now in progress, and because the krill has thus formed the chief element in the food situation for other fish and animals, it is of decisive importance for Norway, too, to get started with research in the region."

[Question] Surely the Norwegian authorities are aware of such an important matter and willing to make appropriations for it?

[Answer] It was Norway that, at the treaty meeting in 1975, moved to put the question of a fisheries convention for the Southern Ice Sea on the agenda. That led to a request to the Antarctic research organizations to get the necessary research under way. The result of that is the "Biomass" project, which a number of Antarctic states support. I am therefore surprised that our proposal for a Norwegian "Biomass" expedition was killed in the 1981 budget discussions. I understand the ministries concerned are now considering asking the government to review its decision on this matter. What is under consideration is an overall request for 4 to 5 million kroner, an appropriation divided between fiscal years 1980 and 1981; the first phase of the cooperative project will go in the 1980-1981 Antarctic field season.

We are not pampered with appropriations for scientific research in Antarctica. It was over 15 years from the time we withdrew from "Norway Station" in Queen Maud Land in connection with the International Geophysical Year until we again took occasion to send a Norwegian expedition on its own keel to Antarctica in 1976-1977! We also got a follow-up expedition sent out in the 1978-1979 season, but then the lock was put back on the budget.

[Question] And you now hope to get that lock opened this year, to the advantage of Norway's interests on the South Polar continent?

[Answer] It would be an unwise policy not to carry on an activity at least of the size we have had since 1976. In the last half of the 1980's it may be necessary to have a new wintering station. It is necessary for our political authorities to formulate a Norwegian Antarctica policy as a



background for what we are to do in the area. For a country like Norway, which lays claim to such large land areas in Antarctica, it is obviously important to have an idea of what we want done there. Studies for such a policy are under way, but a Norwegian "Rikssaker" expedition cannot wait for the final result.

[Question] How large land areas does Norway lay claim to in Antarctica?

[Answer] Our most important claim is to Queen Maud Land, roughly six times as large as Norway, with areas that may be as rich in minerals as areas in South Africa, India, Madagascar, Australia, or South America.

[Question] And while Norway cannot make up its mind to send new expeditions, perhaps other nations are carrying on activities at permanent stations in Antarctica?

[Answer] At the present time there are four other countries that carry on an extensive year-round research activity in Queen Maud Land. They are the Soviet Union, East Germany, South Africa, and Japan. It is quite clear that countries that have their stations in the area and that carry on continuous activity there cannot be overlooked when it comes to discussing the future status of Queen Maud Land. That will count to our disadvantage, at any rate, if we remain passive toward research in the area.

And in the absence of appropriations for physical presence in Antarctica, we at the Norwegian Polar Institute have tried as best we can to carry on the work that is a result of earlier field work and data collection. In that connection I should mention the large amount of cartographic work that has been done on Queen Maud Land.

There we have actually gotten the jump on the other nations. In areas of disputed sovereignty and where economic activity or settlement is not possible, research and mapping are critical and important sovereignty-exercising functions.

[Question] What contribution do you think Norway should make in Antarctica in the years to come?

[Answer] Regardless of what position we decide to take in the end on the sovereignty question, Norway has a stake in Antarctica and a responsibility for a future from which we cannot escape. With its polar experience and research capability, Norway has made a substantial contribution to laying the foundation properly for a peaceful and sound development in Antarctica. What is needed next of all is an international research program, which can aid the responsible authorities in decisions on research utilization and defense and in the sense that research utilization is found justifiable — see to it that the proper control regulations are implemented in time.

It is just with an understanding of this that the Norwegian Polar Institute carried out on the last two expeditions. The

thing that is urgently needed now is defense of the ecological system in the Southern Ice Sea. The other Antarctic states will be surprised to see that Norway, with its economic strength, its experience with fish and fishing--and last but not least, its new experience in offshore industry--is shirking its responsibility. The starting point will be fired with the "Blomness" project in the 1980-1981 season, and Norway should be at the starting line with the rest.

[Question] When it comes to the expectations of natural resources in Antarctica and their exploitation, what do you think are the prospects in what is called the Norwegian claim area, in Queen Maud Land?

[Answer] At the Norwegian Polar Institute we do not think there is a basis for the fantastic use of adjectives applied to the resources in Antarctica as seen in certain newspapers both here and abroad. Even if rich deposits of both oil and other minerals should be found on the South Polar continent, it would involve such great costs to find them, not to mention lifting them, that this would hardly be done in this century. That applies to Queen Maud Land as well as the rest.

The situation is rather different with regard to possibilities for oil on the continental shelf, if sufficiently large deposits should be found there--a thing that we know nothing about at present. Both geologically and operationally it is the shelf areas in the Ross Sea, around the Antarctic Peninsula, and in parts of the Weddell Sea that look most promising.

Inasmuch as the west coast of Queen Maud Land lies toward the Weddell Sea, there may be interesting areas there. But otherwise the continental shelf around our claim area is both narrow and deep and has difficult ice conditions.

In any case oil prospecting in Antarctica is so speculative and costly that it will take still higher oil prices than we have today before serious oil companies begin prospecting. To that extent it can be said that the Near Eastern states have the key to oil development in Antarctica in their hands.

If one imagines a development in which there is a race for mineral deposits in Antarctica, particularly oil, there would immediately be tense situations between nations that might become militarily dangerous.

But once that is said, it should also be pointed out that the only continent in the world where the nations have really peaceful coexistence is Antarctica.

The Antarctica Treaty is a unique agreement. It states that Antarctica is to be used only in the service of peace; it prohibits the erection of military bases or fortifications, military maneuvers, and testing of nuclear weapons or other weapons. There shall be freedom of scientific activity and exchange of programs and information. The Antarctica Treaty is the only agreement I know into which the superpowers have entered with mutual inspection of their bases, aircraft, and installations. At the treaty

meeting each year a number of conservation resolutions have been adopted for animals and plants, as well as for areas of special ecological or scientific significance. When the Treaty partners speak of themselves as a "club," that is due to the feeling of mutual respect and willingness to cooperate that has characterized the meetings thus far.

[Question] And do you firmly believe that this peaceful coexistence can continue in the future as well?

[Answer] Whether it will continue depends on how the states themselves manage to solve the complicated problems in international law that are involved in the exploitation of resources that seems to be just around the corner. And of course it depends on world developments elsewhere. In that connection also on how relations between the Antarctica states and the rest of the world develop.

It is precisely this theme of peace for Antarctica and the good and close cooperation with other nations' researchers down there that Tore Gjelsvik looks back upon with the greatest pleasure as leader of the Norwegian Polar Institute for nearly 20 years. It was no joke when it was announced that he had been appointed director of the Institute on 1 April 1960. Nor is it any joke when on this occasion we choose to characterize the Norwegian Polar Institute, its researchers and officials, and its director with the following quotation from CIA's Atlas of the Polar Regions with discussions of the various countries' scientific programs [following quotation in English]:

"Norway's Polar Institute in Oslo has long been an international leader in polar exploration and is a national center for mapping and scientific surveys on Svalbard, Jan Mayen, the Arctic Ocean, and Antarctica..."

Nat a bad testimonial to be stamped as an internationally leading institute in polar research, in view of the modest means made available by the Norwegian authorities for the purpose over the years.

## SAGA DIRECTOR REPORTS ON NEW PETROCHEMICALS CENTER

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 80 p 26

[Interview with Erik G. Tandberg, administrative director of Saga Petrokjemí, by Hans Christian Erlandson]

[Text] Erik Gubbe Tandberg is a civil engineer from ETH [Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule; Federal Technical University], Zurich, and was graduated in 1954 from Centre d'Etudes Industrielles (CEI) [Center for Industrial Studies] in Geneva. From 1954 to 1960 he worked in aluminum oxide production for Alcan in Jamaica. After 12 years' work in Elkem in various positions, in 1974 he was appointed administrative director of Saga Petrokjemí A/S & Co.

"After the first 2 months of the year I am optimistic and believe that Saga Petrokjemí will have a surplus this year," Tandberg tells AFTENPOSTEN. "Everything indicates that we shall cover both depreciations and finance costs, and that there will be something left over for our stockholders. At present Saga is working on what can be done if the gas from the Statfjord field is brought ashore in Norway. It is pretty sure that a new petrochemical center will be erected in Norway," says Tandberg, who is 50 years old today.

The 1979 annual accounts show that Saga Petrokjemí had a surplus before depreciation and finance costs of 45 million kroner, but that after items there was a deficit of 78 million kroner.

"But in 1979 we started up the last two of our four factories. It was not expected that we would make money in such a year, and a deficit may be regarded as quite normal. 1980 will be the first year in which we shall be in a normal situation with all our plants in operation," Tandberg points out.

"The erection and putting into operation of the petrochemical plants in Hamble completed our apprenticeship. Now we are ready to launch into new undertakings. I believe we are well equipped to do so, for we have a well-qualified staff of 650 persons.

"In Norway we are lucky, as we have a raw material that can provide the foundation for a new basic industry. I think it is right and logical, therefore, for us to use a quite small part of the resources from the continental shelf to establish new industry in Norway. Not everybody thinks of the fact that the petrochemical industry in Hamble only uses between 1 and 2 percent of all that is produced at Ekofisk.

"The way we have understood it is that by about 1985 we must have a solution for what can be done with the gas from Statfjord. We are working to find a solution for what can be done if the gas is brought ashore in Norway. Several alternatives are conceivable, but it is natural that there will be a new petrochemical center erected where the gas comes ashore."

#### Little Hamble Expansion

"Are new expansions at Hamble under consideration?"

"Hamble is a concept in balance, so that the various units in the plant are adjusted to each other's capacity. Now we have a slight bottleneck in cracking, so that a small expansion there can be considered."

Tandberg points out that there are big possibilities for industrial development, since it is becoming clear that there are oil and gas off North Norway, and it is in this part of the country. According to the Saga director there will be a competitive market in the future for production and sale of methanol for mixing into gasoline.

"Our industry is a pure, resource-saving operation, which demands a high level of knowledge. It is rather capital-intensive than labor-intensive, but I think that is good, for we in Norway will have occasion to invest a lot of capital. But it is not an industry that is suitable for spreading into every fiord. We must be able to compete on the market, and that requires efficient units.

"It has been a unique experience to get a chance to be in on building up an industry like Saga Petrokjem. In the course of a 5-year period we have gone from 10 to 600 employees, and we have had the responsibility for a plant budget of 1.7 billion kroner. In addition we have established an international sales network.

"It has been a lot of work, but it has been fun. My being away a great deal has unfortunately placed a burden on my wife and three children. I have learned during that time that you have to be flexible to serve as many masters as we have in Saga. We are restricted by our partners, but from the very beginning we have pursued an open policy that will give full opportunity for insight into what we are doing. That openness will also be of benefit to the community around us," says Administrative Director Erik Tandberg.

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## EANES ADDRESSES 25 APRIL ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY

LD251650 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 1000 GMT 25 Apr 80

[Speech by President Gen Ramalho Eanes at the military ceremony at Imperio Square in Lisbon marking the anniversary of the 25 April 1974 coup--live]

[Text] Soldiers, 6 years have passed since the historic day when the Portuguese people were given back their full sovereignty in order that by using it democratically and following rules that they themselves were to lay down they might build their present and plan their future.

Six years later the question may be addressed to the Portuguese, to all the Portuguese who honestly, critically and responsibly make their own lives an integral part of the life of the country, of whether that promise of 6 years ago was essentially respected and whether it has been defended--acknowledgedly with tolerance, no doubt with some mistakes along the way but inarguably with success.

To such a question which is repeatedly in the minds of our citizen soldiers I will reply, as their institutional representative, with a convinced affirmative. I will reply that the 25 April pledge is being fulfilled because the armed forces made possible the establishment of a regime that practices the pluralism that embodies the self-definition of democracy and in which alternation in power and the freedom to oppose are ensured,

I will reply that 25 April is being fulfilled because the armed forces have unequivocally shown their will and determination to defend the principles proclaimed 6 years ago and reiterated on 25 November, clearly acknowledging that their mission is entrusted to them by the people through the institutions freely adopted by the people.

I will reply that the 25 April pledge is being fulfilled because, thanks to their stability, the armed forces have made it possible for the political crises that we have experienced to be no more than mere crises of democratic development, since they made clear their resolve never to allow themselves to become divided and never to place their arms at the service of partisan interests--as unfortunately was the case in previous periods of democracy and as, apparently, was attempted by certain forces in recent years.



I will reply that the 25 April pledge is being fulfilled because, like the majority of the Portuguese people, our citizen soldiers have willingly accepted the reduction of their real incomes and have kept silent about their own grievances.

I will reply that the 25 April pledge is being fulfilled because our citizen soldiers have reacted with understanding to the delay in arriving at decisions that are of vital importance to the military institution and to its members but whose formulation demands the maximum of legitimacy that can be conferred by the Portuguese people on their freely elected representatives.

The fulfillment, in their essence, of the promises of April, (action of sentence indisputable), norms more than once reiterated in the last few years and which I am today recalling only in their main aspects:

The military institution serves the nation, of which it is the armed arm. It does not serve—and rejects the very idea—any political party, and particular group or organization. The armed forces guarantee national independence according to the principle of subordination to a civilian power legitimized by universal suffrage. They are not, and have no wish to be, the conscience of the nation. Their oath of allegiance is to the Motherland.

The armed forces have the inalienable right to demand total respect for their strict impartiality; they have the imperative duty not to use their arms to further any specific political solution; they are institutionally bound to remain cohesive, disciplined and hierarchically commanded to carry out the tasks entrusted to them by a sovereign nation.

In this sixth anniversary of 25 April it is also necessary to reiterate, not to the military, who do not forget it but to all the Portuguese, that the essential promises of 25 April still stand fully and integrally. They stand fully and integrally because they were fully adopted by the Portuguese in unequivocal acts of assertion of their collective will. And this evokes in the armed forces the devotion and resolve to contribute to their total fulfillment by serving, as they did in the recent past, the organs of power legitimized by the popular vote, so that the rules of the democratic game may be respected despite the totalitarian designs of forces with opposing motivations or ideologies.

The most important conclusion to be drawn from the difficult experiences of the intervening period is that the growing awareness among our citizen soldiers of their role in a democratic society would, on its own, have justified 25 April. This was only made possible by the spirit of unity and cohesiveness that exists in our armed forces and is the result of their correct understanding of the values of discipline and hierarchy, and by the awareness of constitutional task to ensure national independence, territorial integrity and the fulfillment of international commitments relevant to world justice and world peace.

Today the armed forces can regard as successfully completed the test of our capability to live in freedom in a regime whose power structures are subject to democratic supervision.

Today the Portuguese people know that our citizen soldiers wish no other power than that of serving Portugal, the Portugal which the nation has already declared that it wishes to build with justice and security, in freedom and in peace.

CSO: 3101

## BLACK SEA POPULATION STATISTICS REPORTED

Istanbul 8, GUN in Turkish 9 Mar 80 p 12

[Excerpts] Today, upwards of 6 million people live on the shores of the eastern Black Sea which stretches from Sinop to Hopa. Samsun, the point at which Ataturk set foot into Anatolia, is now Turkey's sixth largest city with a population of over 1 million people. From the standpoint of population density (that is the population per square meter of land), Trabzon ranks as Turkey's second most populous city, following Istanbul. The population density figure for Istanbul is 675 while that for Trabzon is 145. Trabzon is followed by Kocaeli with 131 and Izmir with 130.

According to the most recent census, which was conducted in 1975, the province by province population of the Black Sea region by area and by population density is as follows:

<u>Province</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Area in sq. km.</u>	<u>Population Density</u>
Artvin	227,107	8,210	28
Giresun	462,449	7,644	60
Ordu	661,679	6,563	101
Rize	334,952	4,328	77
Samsun	904,774	10,281	88
Sinop	266,609	6,109	44
Trabzon	716,169	4,938	145

CSO: 4907

## DEMOCRATIC SAFEGUARDS SAID TO REMAIN, FOR NOW

Ankara YANKI In Turkish 7-13 Apr 80 p 34

[Text] Turkey is up to her neck in problems. The economic situation has created conditions harsh enough to totally dishearten our 40 million fellow citizens. Terrorism gives us no respite. Those with the ability to understand and evaluate the events of the times look around them and are unable to discern any solutions which would provide hope for the future.

The economy, faced with complex conditions, is under the influence of even more complex elements. A few billion dollars of foreign aid will not solve things, nor will measures of the capitalist market economies which give positive results when implemented in other nations... How do you find work for the 300-400,000 new jobseekers who come into the labor market each year? How do you pay the foreign debts? How do you restore the nation's creditworthiness? How do you assert control over inflation and rising prices? How do you do away with the dissatisfaction of 40 million people, and the broken hopes of the younger generation? How do you restore life to that portion of the internal security apparatus which has become totally useless? How do you keep those people in jail who have been caught and fully convicted by clear evidence and then sentenced? How do you reform the bureaucracy which has been scattered with each change in government, and which has consequently declined in both quality and effectiveness?

As a nation whose history of multi-party democracy has barely passed the quarter-century mark, how do you resolve all these serious problems by democratic means? Is it possible?

Even though all these problems are extremely serious, the fact that the broad masses of the people have become accustomed to political freedoms, as well as the level of organization within the large political parties and labor unions, makes it unlikely that Turkey would depart from democracy. It is these factors which lie behind the fact that the military

intervention, in which the military completely took over the administration of the state in 1960, had a decidedly different completion in 1971. It should not be forgotten, however, that there were other factors, in addition to these, among the reasons why the military rulers of that time [1971] were unable, despite all the warnings, to dissolve the Parliament. Chief among these factors is the fact that Turkey has linked her fate tightly to the democratic nations of the West.

Today, everyone is aware that America, which defends human rights and democratic freedoms everywhere, even in communist countries, will not remain impartial vis-a-vis a dictatorial regime of one sort or another in Turkey. She could not continue the aid she provides to Turkey -- no matter how much she might want to. America, which exercised all her influence in order for Parliament not to be dissolved following the intervention of 12 March 1971, is obliged to act much more carefully under today's conditions. And influential individuals who are intimately aware of this climate of opinion in America must also take account of this in their own behavior and long-term plans.

Currently, there is discussion over whether a military intervention, as in 1960 and 1971, will be made by the Turkish Armed Forces, who have seen that the administration in Turkey has floundered about awkwardly in the hands of the political parties, who can easily perceive the dissatisfaction among the broad masses of the public, and who observe that the political parties have not taken the course which reason would indicate. Ecevit, on this topic about which he has been so careful, can say, in the comfort, perhaps, of being in the opposition but without being at all irresponsible, that "anything can happen." Demirel, having passed through various trials, cannot speak as comfortably as before. But despite all this, neither public opinion nor those who are situated in the most influential spots and who form public opinion can really evaluate the conditions in which we find ourselves.

The Army, Turkey's most orderly, most disciplined, and soundest Ataturkist institution, has passed through great trials in the last twenty years. Those who now compose its commanding echelons experienced these trials while in very key positions. They are in an excellent position to evaluate the conditions which I have tried to point out in this article. In addition, perhaps coincidentally or perhaps as a result of the policy which General Sancak followed while he was Chief of the General Staff, they are individuals of whom it cannot easily be said that they have political ambitions themselves. This being the case, it would appear possible to look at all the circumstances and breathe easily for the near future, at least from the standpoint of our system of government. But how long will this hold true? Where is the guarantee of this? Where will the whole affair run off the tracks? Can the Turkish political system, which like a great many other things is subject to the laws of evolution, not be affected by external forces? These questions are well worth our attention. The question as to whether or not our system of government is in danger depends on the answers to just these questions.

## RPP OFFICIAL SAID INVOLVED IN PRINTING PRO-TKP PAPER

Istanbul AYDINLIK in Turkish 30 Mar 80 pp 1, 7

[Text] TKP [Turkish Communist Party] supporters, unable to publish the journal SAVAS YOLU [PATH OF STRUGGLE] and the newspaper POLITIKA [POLITICS], are printing the journal SAVASIM [STRUGGLE], which they have begun to publish in Mugla, in the printing shop of RPP Mugla Provincial Chairman Tufan Dogu.

In a statement made to the press, TIKP [Turkish Workers and Peasants Party] Mugla Provincial Chairman Adil Arslan said that the TKP adherents had been unable to find printers in the large cities where they could have their publications printed, and that the journals printed in the RPP Provincial Chairman's Ilkadim Printing Press are quickly taken outside the province's borders without even being distributed to wholesalers in Mugla.

Bulent Ozoktay, editor of the journal SAVASIM, is known to write under his own signature for the newspaper ILKADIM [FIRST STEP], which belongs to RPP Provincial Chairman Tufan Dogu.

The following opinions were expressed in TIKP Mugla Provincial Chairman Adil Arslan's statement to the press:

"The RPP has lost its faith in the people insofar as coming to power again, and has now fallen into deep pessimism. In order to bring down the present government, it looks to the nefarious activities of the Moscow-aligned forces for help. And this is the reason why the RPP's Mugla Provincial Chairman Tufan Dogu prints the destructive, TKP-oriented publications in his printing shop."

RPP Mugla Provincial Chairman Tufan Dogu, who prints the literature of the TKP supporters, is known as an individual who has pursued a very irregular course during his political career. Originally known as a DP [Democratic Party] member, Dogu printed praise in his paper for the JP and for Haldun Menteseoglu, Minister for Reconstruction and Settlement, after the JP era began. After 1973, he was observed in the ranks of the RPP supporters. In close cooperation today with the TKP adherents within the RPP, Dogu is known for giving space in his paper ILKADIM to articles defending friendship with Russia, as well as the Afghanistan invasion.



## THREE KURDISH GROUPS ISSUE DECLARATION OF COOPERATION

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 24-30 Mar 80 p 11

[Text] "It has been decided that our three groups will coordinate forces and activities against the colonialist state." This sentence was included in a joint communique issued by the groups involved, who termed themselves "national democratic organizations." The state in question was Turkey, while the groups cooperating were three illegal organizations active in the eastern provinces.

The three groups, who announced this cooperation to the public in a brochure entitled "National Democratic Cooperation -- A Declaration", were the Shivanists, the Freedom Road Group, and the Kurdistan National Liberation group [KUK]. In the declaration, they were referred to as "those who are struggling toward common goals: the establishment of a free and democratic society in Kurdistan." The common goal was further stated to be "to put an end to the colonialist yoke bearing down upon Kurdistan, and to bring freedom to our people."

The group given the name Shivanists [Sivancilar] was established by Dr. Sait Kirmizitoprak, who used the name Sivan. Dr. Kirmizitoprak had worked within the Turkey branch of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) until the period of 12 March [1971]. He then became active in the Eastern Revolutionary Culture Hearths [DEKO] organization, which was founded by a group which broke away from the Turkish Labor Party [TIP]. Now, [the Shivanists] act as an arm of the group led by Talabani, who settled in Syria after clashing with Barzani. They are active in Diyarbakir, Hakkari, and Yuksekova.

The Kurdistan National Liberationists [Kurdistan Ulusal Kurtulusculari - KUK] arose after the defeat of the Kurdish movement by Iraq in 1975. This group opposed the views of the Iraqi KDP which held that "it would be possible to cooperate with the Americans." Instead, they maintained that real cooperation and assistance could come only from the Soviet Union. Thus they broke away from the KDP. They are known to be among the most fervent groups within the Kurdish movement, and they maintain that armed struggle is the only way to liberation.

As for the Freedom Road [Özgürlük Yolu] group, it came to the fore in the East after 1974, particularly among certain circles of the intelligentsia. In their journal of the same name, they maintained that liberation could be realized only through solidarity with the socialist system. They are known to be a movement of a narrowly-based group.

The three organizations held their cooperation conference in Diyarbakir. It is also stated that, following this, a meeting was held in Ankara, and that TIP [Turkish Labor Party] and TSIP [Turkish Socialist Labor Party] adherents, as well as TKP [Turkish Communist Party] representatives, took part in this meeting. In a radio broadcast by the Voice of the Turkish Communist Party, it was stated that "The TKP is entering into joint struggle with the Kurdish revolutionary democrats in an open and sincere manner."

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